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TALVLI'S  
HISTORY OF THE COLONIZATION  
OF  
AMERICA.

EDITED BY  
WILLIAM HAZLITT, ESQ.  
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

"Out of small beginnings great things have arisen . . . and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many."—*Governor Bradford's Journal.*

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# HISTORY

## OF THE

### COLONIZATION OF AMERICA.

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#### CHAPTER XVI.

INCORPORATION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.—GORTON.—UNION  
OF THE COLONIES. FROM 1641 TO 1643.

THESE contests had had no influence on the interior administration of the country. The lands between the Piscataqua and Merrimack had, through the notorious partition of the society of Plymouth, fallen to John Mason, and had been called by him New Hampshire; but his death, some years after, set aside for a short time all the claims of the family. The settlements of Piscataqua, abandoned by their founders, had for years been in complete anarchy, and the well regulated condition and orderly legal administration of Massachusetts, with a desire for a similar state of things, had made them resolve to attach themselves to this colony, and submit to its government. The noblemen and other possessors of land there, feeling themselves incapable of managing the plantations singlehanded, abdicated their jurisdiction to Massachusetts, retaining only their right of property over the ground and soil.

Years before, the question had been mooted in Massachusetts. Did the settlements on the Piscataqua belong to their patent or not? And, taken literally, the definition of their northern boundary, "three miles north of the Merrimak in its most northerly direction," comprised not only the present New Hampshire, but also a great part of Maine. For the Merrimak descends from the White Mountains, and flows about a hundred and twenty miles southwards,\* when it suddenly turns east and runs towards the huge Atlantic in a somewhat northerly direction. This latter part was all that was known to the givers of the patent, and consequently that which they alluded to in the letter of possession. But the fathers of Massachusetts, inclined to give to this an extension of meaning which greatly enlarged their territory, had already planted separate colonies, ten and even twenty miles eastward of the Merrimak, and consequently accepted as their due the submission of the Piscataqua settlers. When, sometime previously, deputies had been obliged to investigate the disposition of the people, and establish peace among the authorities and churches, commissioners were formally sent off to the settlements there, in order, in conjunction with some select men, to call together the people, to take from them the oath of fealty, and establish quarterly courts after the pattern of the other distant subordinate colonies.

1642 They were represented in the general court by two deputies, members of the churches there, which had not been founded by the Puritans, and were not of the true puritanical mould. The regulations of

\* North of the Winnipessagee, from the waters of which it receives a very considerable increase, it is called Pennigewassett.

the government only met here and there with some little opposition. On the whole, the planters looked cheerfully forward to a better state of things, and during the forty years that it remained part and parcel of Massachusetts, the prosperity of New Hampshire waxed so apace, and it became so powerful, that, in 1680, the principal inhabitants considered themselves bound to offer up thanks.

The early history of New Hampshire is as follows. We have seen the first settlers on 1623 the Piscataqua arrive: a Scot of the name of Thomson, and two brothers called Hilton, fishmongers from London, with a small number of planters. They were sent by a society in the west of England, to which belonged the indefatigable adventurers Gorges and Mason. At a previous period Mason had been governor of Newfoundland, and one of the oldest undertakers in the New England trade. When the society of Massachusetts redeemed their patent and showed so much activity, he thought it also advisable to renew old claims, and procured himself a patent for the land lying between the Piscataqua and the Merrimak, that is to say, about the extent of New Hampshire. The rights of the society to the three miles north, which had just been sold at a high price, were not secured by any one word. This patent, although at the moment not much was done towards maintaining it, became afterwards the source of endless contests and prolixities. At first, nothing more occurred than that the possessor sent over some people who built a house in a little harbour, and called it Mason Hall, which soon went to decay.

Mason's friend, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was, from his

adventurous turn of mind

of the way, more disposed on something out of the marine plans, which with other men to transform misfortunes, with more than half executed; made smoke of perseverance and wisdom, was all that projects, and a loss of £20,000 all remained to his heirs of these matters.

The circumstance that, in the course of six or seven years, the high council sold six or seven different privileges (all crossing each other), for the land between the Merrimack and the Kennebec, may have been the cause of none of the landholders being inclined to expend much on the cultivation of them. The plantations were soon left to themselves, or only grew slowly. Agents of the above named Western Society found it more profitable to begin small plantings at their own expense, to which they devoted their whole interest. They accordingly sold their lands, partly to Lords Say and Brooke, partly to some merchants in Shrewsbury. These latter sent over one Captain Wiggan to look after them, a good man, who soon attached himself to the colony of Massachusetts, and there quickly gained the confidence of the noblemen, whose share he first administered and then sold. Meanwhile Gorges

1630 and Mason had sent over Captain Neal to watch over their interests in Piscataqua, and at the same time to explore the country of Laconia, which seems to mean the district around Lake Champlain, very pompously and romantically described in some works of that time, and particularly in one by Gorges.

He soon came to open feud with Wiggan, and it was only after he had left the country that peace was established, and the new settlers sent by Gorges could found



the town of Portsmouth on Strawberry bank, 1631  
where Thomson had settled at an earlier date.

Their governor, either chosen by them or appointed by Gorges, was, at the time of the annexation to Massachusetts, one Mr. Williams, who had executed his office with judgment and prudence, but soon after went to West India. The settlement of Cochecor or Dover, over which Wiggan presided, consisted for the most part of Puritans, and, from the beginning, there had been no want of religious or fanatic struggle. Wiggan was ordered away by the preacher Burdett, who gave himself out for a Puritan (but who proved to be a spy of Laud's), and who elevated himself to the governorship.

Soon after this, Captain Underhill, who had 1638  
been obliged to leave Boston on account of the Antinomistic affair, and had followed Wheelwright to Piscataqua, contrived to attract great attention, and before the settlers of Dover had received the warning letters from Massachusetts, they had named him their governor. Burdett went to Maine. In the 1639  
mean time the church had sunk into fanatical dissension; preachers of separatist and episcopal views, but agreeing in moral degeneracy, followed and hated one another, and often came into collision with the worldly authorities, who only met with little attention. Underhill, shut out here from every place of safety by the annihilating influence of the injured government and church of Massachusetts, humbled himself before both, and sought his fortune elsewhere. In the 1640  
meanwhile Lords Say and Brooke had ordered a number of respectable families possessed of some property to settle on the banks of the Piscataqua.

They made a contract to govern themselves under English supremacy, and the older planters of Dover joined them. It is highly probable that the attachment to Massachusetts originated with these new comers, who were mostly Puritans.

A third independent settlement had about this time been founded by Wheelwright and some of his Antinomistic friends, and they called the little town, south-

1639 west of the Piscataqua, Exeter. The government of Massachusetts did not neglect to start objections to this settlement as being an infringement of their patent, but at first they took no steps towards hindering it, and the colonists, few in number as they were, united themselves into an independent administration. They were the last who submitted to Massachusetts. Wheelwright, whose ban was not yet redeemed, betook himself over the Piscataqua to Wells, whither the fathers of Massachusetts would not dare to stretch their hands after him.

While, in the north, Massachusetts so peacefully and honourably extended its boundaries, the passions and bigotry of the leaders of the commonweal had, in the south, produced such unjust usurpations, that the episode they occasion is one of the darkest pages in the history of the colony. One Samuel Gorton, a religious enthusiast, devoid of learning but not of talent, who had been a merchant tailor in London, but had, since the spirit seized him, quite devoted himself to theology, and hoped to find in distant America a fruitful field for his doctrines, had probably aroused ill will and suspicion in Boston by his familist doctrines, and this

must have been during his short stay there in 1636.\* It was not to be expected that the stern legislators who here sat at the rudder could hear him without horror, when, idealizing all doctrines, he went so far as to say that Heaven and Hell were not places, but only existed in the minds of good and wicked men? or that there was no other devil than the ruthless living? or that the incarnation of Christ had already taken place by the creation of Adam in God's own likeness? or that the fall of man from God was the real death of Christ, and such like heresies. But his name is not mentioned in the Antinomistic discussions; he had probably betaken himself to Plymouth during the dispute, but here, after having for a short time passed for a saint, he wanted to force his symbolizing views on the fanatical darkness of a church which more than any other held fast to dogmas. A dispute with the future preacher there, Ralph Smith, brought him before the court. He himself relates that he had interceded for the servant of his wife, who would have been severely punished for having ventured to smile in church, and this was the cause of his having to appear. However that may be, he showed himself so impatient at the reproofs he received then, and behaved in so unseenly and disrespectful a way to the authorities, that they condemned him, and (perhaps joyfully) took this opportunity of banishing from their territory the dangerous enthusiast who had already infected so many with his heretical allegories. He betook himself to

\* The Familists were a sect founded under the name of Familia Auroris by Henry Nicholl. They held, that the heavenly love recreated in man was the only true religion, &c. Though founded in Holland, this sect spread principally in England, where it was persecuted.

Rhode Island, but soon embroiled himself publicly with the authorities. In an unimportant police affair he loudly called in doubt their authority, and declared before the court that he would not acknowledge it, as the case belonged to the king and the laws of England. Coddington, the governor, called out in a rage, "Ye who are for the king seize this Gorton!" to which the other retorted by crying out, "Ye who are for the king seize this Coddington!" Public corporal punishment and banishment from the island were the result of this powerless imprudence.

1640 He now went to Providence, where the humanity and state principles of Roger Williams granted him a secure asylum, though Williams was far from agreeing with him. Here he settled with some of his comrades, to the great displeasure of the elder settlers, who hated and despised him. It soon came to disputes between the new-comers and them, nay, even to acts of violence attended with bloodshed. Roger Williams with difficulty separated them for a time; for as yet order in this young half-organized state rested only on a mutual promise of the inhabitants, and the new settlers were not partakers of this treaty and did not recognize the authority of it. The planters of Pawtuxet, south of Providence, amidst whom they had settled, accordingly considered themselves justified in turning to the government of Massachusetts with a request for

1641 neighbourly help against the intruders and disturbers of their peace. At the head of these petitioners stood Benedict Arnold, one of the earliest companions of Roger Williams, but one of the first who showed distrust of the tenability of his promises; we shall see

him afterwards governor of Rhode Island. The answer they received from Massachusetts showed them that they would have to pay dearly for the wished-for assistance; for it was announced that nothing could be done for them unless they placed themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts or Plymouth. Some of them were probably as little inclined to the one as to the other, and, for long after, the thing was not touched upon again, until in the following year the two Arnolds and two of their companions formally submitted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Hereupon the government issued a manifesto summoning all the inhabitants of Providence to follow the example of the others. Gorton sent them in answer a long surly letter, in which he contemptuously refuted their claims to Providence. Yet he considered it safe to withdraw himself from their territory, and accordingly, with eleven of his companions, bought from Miantonomo a piece of land on the Pawtuxet, called by the Indians Shawomet.

The contract was signed by Miantonomo and the under-sachem Pomham, who dwelt on this land, and the buyers thought themselves in safe possession, although the sachem of Pawtuxet, who also pretended to have claims on this land, had not signed with them. A short time after, these two sachems, who were dependent on Miantonomo, appeared before the court at Boston, and complained of the usurpation of Gorton and his people; Pomham, the sachem of Shawomet, maintaining that he had been compelled to consent by Miantonomo, and submitted with their lands to the government of Massachusetts; Benedict Arnold, whose influence on the whole affair was very evident, being interpreter.

Miantonomo was now cited. To judge from the late testimony of Roger Williams, and analogous circumstances, the right to sell Shawomet belonged to him, and not to the sub-chiefs. A missive, summoning Gorton and his people to show their claims, was answered by the latter with an injurious letter, twelve pages long, which, like the letter he once before sent them, roused the fathers of Massachusetts to the most violent anger. On the continued refusal of the settlers of Shawomet to appear before them, whose authority they did not acknowledge, commissioners, accompanied by forty soldiers, were sent to Shawomet, to investigate the matter on the field of action. Posterity can estimate the spirit of an investigation, conducted by the help of forty soldiers, upon defenceless men. Everything seemed allowable towards heretics and blasphemers; and the fanatic, bigotted sense of those commissioned was not calculated to milder the severity of it. Ten of the hated evil-doers (for two succeeded in escaping) were after a short resistance laid hold of, transported to Boston, and brought before the court. Winthrop announced to them that they were to be regarded, if not as rebels, yet as prisoners of war, having been taken with weapons in their hands. They were compelled to attend divine service, where Gorton was allowed to speak before the community, and, amid the horror of the saints, to produce the whole complicated tissue of his heresies; but it is difficult to discover in what these consisted, or, indeed, what his views really were. He himself rejects as calumnies the accusations of his enemies, that is, all contemporary authors who mention him; and what he has laid down in his defence of his system, is not enough to disclose

its character completely, but it has not by any means the rugged character which his opponents give it: he has certainly spiritualized Christianity beyond all bounds. The essence of religion was to him nothing further than the heavenly love which permeates everything. The historical Christ he did not acknowledge; Christ was to him the ever-living ideal of man; Adam or man the incarnate Christ; but as Christ always lives, so does he always die, man losing himself thus in God, &c. Of authorities, he only acknowledged the natural as the patriarchal or hereditary, &c.

Soon after the men of Shawomet had been brought in, the general court, before which they had to defend themselves, was held in Boston; and here a friend of the olden times might well throw a veil over this the darkest page in the history of their archives, when the honest hand of history uncovers it. Gorton and his friends had been dragged before the tribunal of Massachusetts, to give an account of the usurped possession of land, and disobedience to the authority forced upon them; but it is certain that, as soon as they were once before it, there was nothing more said of these offences, and that they were exclusively questioned as to their heretical errors, and only condemned for them. "The court and the elders," says Winthrop, "spent nearly a whole day in discovering Gorton's deep mysteries, and in trying to convert him, but in vain; they gave themselves also much trouble about the other, but with as little result." The prisoners were brought from the dungeon to the court-room, and taken back to the dungeon. The clergy—Cotton in particular—pressed them hard; Gorton defended himself with that talkative ob-

security peculiar to unlearned enthusiasts, who hold themselves to be the elected tools of God, and openly exposed all his heresies to the horrified judges.

At length they proceeded to the sentence. The elders had been previously asked for their opinion, and had unanimously given their voices for death; a similar sentence was pronounced by the magistrates, except three, but the deputies were against it.\* They had all been long of the belief that Gorton and his friends deserved severe punishment, as "blaspheming enemies of the religion of our Lord Christ and his holy institutions, as of all civic authorities among the people of God." In pursuance of this, Gorton, Holden, and five others, were condemned for a time, at the disposal of the government, to hard labour, with chains on their feet, and never to speak with any person except one of the elders, or a person accredited by government, respecting the circumstances of their condemnation, or even to write about it; and in case of transgression they were, after their guilt had been proved by a jury, to be condemned to death and forthwith executed.

And this barbarous sentence was put in execution: the seven unlucky men were distributed to so many little towns, where assistants dwelt. The other prisoners, who had not signed the criminal letters, were set free; two of them, like prisoners of war, for a small ransom. Those who had fled were cited, and the fear of the court of Massachusetts was such that two of them gave themselves up; and, as they also had not signed, escaped

\* Gorton himself relates that they had thrown a cast for his life; and what is voting for life or death, according to the majority, but throwing casts? Two voices, accidentally given, saved their lives.



with a slight punishment. In order to cover the expenses of sending the military, and those of their support in prison, all their cattle were confiscated; some of their guns were presented to those Indian chiefs who had by their submission shown themselves worthy of the possession of these murderous weapons, the highest object of their wishes; whilst the sale of them was forbidden, under heavy penalties.

The example of Saconoco and Pomham was followed, two years after, by Papaconaway and his sons, the mightiest chieftains on the Merrimak: the Mohicans of Connecticut had long been dependent on the English. "This heart is yours, not mine!" cried Uncas once, in humble subjection, when he feared he had offended his mighty allies; and his attachment to the powerful strangers, whose Gods had vanquished his gods, seems to have been real. Only the Narragansetts held back, with distrustful pride, together with their eastern neighbours the Wampanogets, the only ones of the sinking races of New England who had till now retained a shadow of freedom.

The cruel treatment of Gorton and his companions found no approbation among the people. Wherever they were carried they were objects of compassion and interest; this, the expenses of maintaining them, the trouble of keeping them quiet, and, above all, the influence they gradually acquired over their watchers, bringing these into danger of being infected, decided the government of Massachusetts upon taking off their fetters next spring, and at the same time banishing them from the jurisdiction, under pain of death. When liberated, they, with that inexplicable, powerless defiance which charac-

terized all their proceedings, betook themselves to Shawomet, which was really not named in the edict of banishment, and again wanted to make valid their claim to the land they had bought; however, some sharp threats from Massachusetts soon scared them away. Gorton, Holden, and Greene went to England, not without having previously (by what means is yet unknown) procured a formal act of submission to the crown of England from some of the Narragansett chiefs. They were sagacious enough to know that nothing could procure them a more favourable reception there, nor more certainly secure them the protection of those in authority: without doubt they had decided the Narragansetts thereto, by holding out that they could best secure themselves from oppression by the Massachusetts. The future will teach us that Gorton and his companions did not deceive themselves in this.

In the mean time, the little regard which Miantonomo had met with in this matter from Massachusetts, and the submission of all his chiefs, must have inwardly galled him. For a long time the Narragansetts had watched, with poisonous envy, the favour which their enemy, Uncas, had received from the whites; but wisdom and fear taught Miantonomo to conceal his hatred. He secretly sought to rouse up the Mohawks against them, and when summoned to account for this, he refused to go to Boston unless Roger Williams, whose honesty he trusted, accompanied him; but the  
1640 others rejected Williams as interpreter, from his having been banished. When at length, in the feeling of his weakness, he was obliged to give way and come, his proud, reserved behaviour betrayed ever

active suspicion. From time to time was heard a report of a general conspiracy of the Indians against the English. Those of Connecticut, full of anxiety and dread, looked with smothered distrust on their dangerous neighbour Plymouth. The inhabitants of Massachusetts thought themselves justified, for safety's sake, in disarming the Indians, whom they looked on as comprised in their district, even before they had submitted of their own free will; yet the upright demeanour of Miantonomo, at another visit to Boston, seemed for this time to allay all suspicion against him. He appears to have been the most princely of all the Indian chiefs of his time. A proud, collected calmness indicated his dignity, and his speech was so cautious that he was not to be made to give any answer, except in the presence of two of his counsellors. A table had been laid for him and his suite, but he declined taking anything until the governor sent him meat from his own table, in order to show him respect. On the following days he was allotted the lowest place at the table of the persons in authority, with which he was content.

Miantonomo had decidedly denied all animosity; and although the reports of a conspiracy of the Indians continued, yet the government of Massachusetts was forced to resolve that it would only act on the defensive; that is, take no hostile steps, but redouble its vigilance: however, these reports were the immediate occasion of the closing a treaty, on which proceedings had been taken so early as 1638, for the *union of the colonies*, or an offensive and defensive alliance against all external enemies.

This union, with which begins a new period in the history of the colonies, was urged with 1643

especial warmth by Connecticut, and after it by New-haven; for they were in themselves the weakest, and very much exposed to the attacks of the Dutch as well as of the natives. Massachusetts felt itself more secure in its greater might: its alliance was sought by Dutchmen as by Frenchmen, while the Indians sought to avoid its displeasure. But Plymouth thought itself as much injured in its claims by the colony of Connecticut, as neglected by Massachusetts, when vainly claiming assistance from the latter against some mishaps in Sagadahose; it was therefore slow in joining this union: yet the better policy gained the day, and the treaty was closed at Boston the 19th of May, 1643. It remained in power forty-three years, and was only disturbed by the charter of Massachusetts being called in; after this time, however, the four colonies called themselves the united colonies of New England.

This alliance demands especial consideration, because it may be regarded as the basis of the present United States. Its conditions left an independent existence to each of the colonies, but imposed conjoint action in outward affairs. On an attack being made by a hostile force on any of the colonies, Massachusetts had to place in the field one hundred men, the other three forty-five men each; the expenses of the men were divided in the same proportion. The necessity for an offensive war was to be decided upon by a body of eighteen commissioners, who were chosen every year—on the first Monday in September, to be elected alternate in the four colonies, but so that the turn came twice to Boston. These commissioners, who were to be members of the church, were elected leaders and lawgivers of the

whole, that is, of all relating only to foreign matters. The most distinguished men in each colony filled these posts; they were elected by the government, that is by the united magistrates and deputies, until, some years later, the freemen of Massachusetts laid claim to the right to name also these commissioners. 1646

This union seemed, in the eyes of their Dutch and French neighbours, almost to elevate the colonies to the height of an independent power. The Dutch would gladly have checked the growth of the colonies of Connecticut and Newhaven, the soil of which they claimed as their first possession, and for a long time they could not be brought to call it anything but "New Netherlands." But the union of the powerful Massachusetts frightened them from every act of violence. In Arcadia the French had fallen out among themselves. Two governors had been installed there, D'Aulney in the east, and La Tour in the west part, and their interests continually clashed. This is not the place to explain the claims of these two adventurers. Suffice it that each, especially La Tour, who was expelled by the other, strove hard to win over Massachusetts to his side. He was also one of the oldest landowners in those northern regions. He had, even in 1627, been in possession of extensive lands held in fief from France, and after that, having bought the title of Sir 1630 William Alexander, had done homage to the 1641 English king. He sent and came repeatedly to Boston; prepossessed them by his courteous and amiable 1644 manners, attended their church, and neglected nothing to gain the good opinion of the inhabitants. But what especially cast the scale in his favour was, his

being a Hugonot, or, at least, giving himself out to be a friend of the Hugonots. One of his ships was manned with nothing but protestants from Rochelle. They durst not, and could not, give him open assistance; but he was permitted to recruit, and volunteers were allowed to join him, a favour which principally emanated from Winthrop, whilst the wisdom and justice of it were much questioned by the others. The influence which the active, sagacious, flattering La Tour and his heroic wife acquired over the severe fathers of Massachusetts, and many men of weight there, who regarded them in the light of "oppressed neighbours," seems to have been purely personal. They were obliged to convince themselves at last that D'Aulney was better accredited by his government than the other, whom they now gave up, as he did them, now that he had nothing more to

1644 hope from them. They concluded a treaty of peace, which was to secure their ships; and this being confirmed by the commissioners of the united colonies, was better observed by them than by the others.

The union of the colonies was of great importance to the Indians. Uncas submitted completely to their superior might. He was followed, at least, to all appearance, by Miantonomo, who passionately envied him the favour of the whites, while he had yet too noble a pride to wish to win it by submission. Both were obliged to promise not to make war upon another without the sanction of the English, who promised, as umpires, to settle all difficulties. But the flame of hate, now pent up, still glowed in secret, and gathered strength from the smouldering sparks scattered about

by the Narragansett chief through every Indian heart, till it finally broke out in a fierce, destroying flame against the peace-makers themselves. A Pequodde subject of Miantonomo was caught in an attempt to murder Uncas. Miantonomo, being interrogated by the English, and ordered to deliver up the assassin to Uncas, killed him with his own hand, contrary to his promise, and, before his guardians expected it, he was in the field at the head of a thousand men against Uncas. But fortune was not favourable to him; for being encumbered by a coat of proof given him by Gorton, and betrayed by two of his head men, he fell into the hands of his enemy the first battle. Uncas had offered him single combat at the beginning of the fight, which was to decide the fate of both nations. Miantonomo now demanded death from the hand of his enemy. "Wherefore dost thou not rather beg for thy life?" said the other; "I would ask for mine were I in thy place." But Miantonomo stood sunk in gloomy silence; without further request or complaint, he awaited death from the hands of him whom he would have sacrificed without a thought, had fortune turned the dice another way.

But Uncas was true to the promise he had given, and did not slay him. The English alone should decide on the fate of his deadly enemy. Perhaps a threatening letter from Gorton, who urgently interceded for Miantonomo, decided him. He therefore carried his prisoner to Hertford, in order to ask council of the authorities there, at the very time the commissioners were sitting in Boston; they, and among them were the younger Winthrop, Winslow, and Caton, were convinced of

Miantonomo's secret intrigues against them, and might be well assured that so long as he lived they would never have anything to expect from him but enmity and hatred. According to the bloody policy of those days, they were, perhaps, justified in deciding upon his life. But the way which they chose to free themselves from this dangerous opponent was too base, too cowardly, and barbarous to justify the most enthusiastic American patriot in attempting to vindicate it to posterity. The act acquires a still deeper dye, by five or six of the most respectable clergymen of Massachusetts having been asked for their advice, and having all given as their opinion that Miantonomo must die. Accordingly it was agreed that there could be no safety for Uncas so long as Miantonomo breathed. The former should therefore kill him, but out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in his own territory, and without the torture generally used by the Indians. The unlucky prisoner was accordingly given up to his arch-enemy, whose surprize at this startling contradiction to all the doctrines of the religion of love which he had hitherto received from the elevated strangers was certainly not less than his joy. He accordingly, without delay, led his prisoner over the boundaries of Connecticut, and two officials of the colony accompanied him to see that the murder was properly executed.

The barbarous usages of the Indians devote prisoners of war to a cruel, martyr-like death, and the more distinguished the victim, the more elaborate and horrible the torture. But when, from chance, policy, or compassion, any one is spared, every trace of danger at once vanishes; the pardoned one becomes a member of the



family and a brother ; he is installed into all the rights of the victor's race, and makes their interest his. Miantonomo must, therefore, have considered himself perfectly safe, and not a word was there to indicate the fate which hung over him. He was scarcely on the territory of Uncas when his head was shattered with a club, hurled by the hand of Uncas, according to some, and by that of his brother, according to others. A horrible tradition adds, that the cannibal-like murderer cut a piece of flesh from the shoulder of the slaughtered man, roasted it at the fire and ate it, asserting that it was the most delicate morsel he had ever eaten—it made his heart strong ! A number of musketeers from Connecticut accompanied Uncas home, in order to show that the act had taken place with the approbation of the English. The place where the murder was committed, in the eastern part of the town of Norwich, is still called “the Sachem's Plain.” Some of Uncas's people heaped up stones over the place where he was interred ; and from the custom of the Indians for every passer-by to add a stone, had gradually attained a considerable height, when, about fifty years ago, some planters in the neighbourhood, with little regard to its historical importance, had it carried off without ceremony to build a stone wall with. The awakened historical feeling of our time has lately replaced it by a simple worthy granite monument.

Anger and fury filled the minds of the Narragansetts when they heard of the fate of their prince. Miantonomo left behind a young son ; but, according to the custom of the Indians, his younger brother Pessacus took his place as fellow-prince of the grey-haired Can-

nonicus. Too weak to revenge themselves on the English, all their rage turned against Uncas, but he felt himself too strong in the protection of the mighty whites. The messengers of the latter were respectfully treated by them, but they would hear of no reconciliation without the head of their mortal enemy. There-

1645 upon Roger Williams, that true friend, secretly sent word to Massachusetts that the preparations of the Narragansetts were aimed at them, and that they intended to break in upon them by stealth. Massachusetts and the other colonies speedily raised three hundred men, one hundred and ninety being sent by the former alone. The very rumour of this frightened the Indians; they offered their hand for peace, and Pessacus himself came to Boston. A treaty was at last concluded, by virtue of which some of the principal chiefs left their children as hostages in the hands of the English, and pledged themselves, not only to leave Uncas in peace, but also to pay in wampum the war expenses of the colonists, which had cost a considerable sum.

1646 The conditions of this treaty were negligently fulfilled, and not until a troop of soldiers was sent from Massachusetts, as a reminder, under the direction of the resolute Captain Atherton. Pessacus sought to escape, and justified himself on the plea of poverty; but Atherton, with rude determination, clapped a pistol to his breast, dragged him amongst his soldiers, and did not let him loose till the last instalment was paid up. Here also the honest friend of the white as of the red man, Roger Williams, was called on to mediate, and showed himself as willing as ever; but the

shameful treatment of the Indian chief by the English leader set his life and the confidence of the Indians towards him in danger, and for the first time we see him angry with his own people.

Sometime after, Ninegrat, the friend of Pessacus and chief of the Niantikes, began to show himself hostile to the English ; but a troop of cavalry sent against him spread a panic among his people, and he submitted to any conditions. From thenceforward we hear of no more hostility, and all the Indian races had either submitted, or were scared into peace, until, after nearly thirty years, a closer acquaintance with fire-arms had made them bolder, and they broke out in that fearful war which was to end with the entire destruction of so many of their unhappy race.

## CHAPTER XVII.

FEELING IN THE INTERIOR.—INSTITUTIONS FOR EDUCATION.—WINTHROP'S DEATH. 1643 TO 1649.

WHILST the colonists of New England had in this way won a secure position against inward and outward enemies, the altered state of matters in the mother country had long removed all danger from that side. Their enemies had fallen; religious principles related to theirs began to gain the day there. The three celebrated clergymen, Cotton, Hooker and Davenport, were invited by some noblemen and others, inclined to independent opinions, to come to England, in order to add the weight of their voices to theirs in the assembly to be called by parliament. Cotton hoped there to have a new field for his ambition; he was strongly inclined to go; Pastor Davenport found his community not at all disposed to set him at liberty; Hooker's wisdom rejected the thought of sacrificing to an uncertain preponderance in the old country certain prospects in his new fatherland, and the three clergymen remained where they were. There the Presbyterians at first gained ground, though their church form was scarcely less detested by the American congregationalists than the dominion of the prelates, and excited great displeasure among the majority. Hobart, preacher in Hingham, who had, together with his brethren, been drawn into the dissensions there, was inclined to it, and there is no doubt

that the punishments against petitioners inciting to rebellion would never have been half so severe if these religious differences had not at first so excessively irritated Winthrop and other officials of the government.

As a natural consequence, the colonies of the Puritans ranged themselves decidedly on the side of the parliament, at the outbreak of the insurrection in England. In 1644, the government of Massachusetts forbade any one to declare for the king, as the cause of parliament, according to its own assertion, was also his. In the preceding year the parliament had named a commission to conduct the American colonies, 1640 and had placed at the head of it Robert, Earl of Warwick, the old patron of the colonies, who bore the title of governor and chief admiral of the American colonies. His power was great, but he employed it with moderation ; begged where he might have commanded, and showed so much good will, and so little inclination to trouble them with his presence, that the severe leaders in Massachusetts were very content with his titular power. Yet they were bent on giving nothing away, and on not letting go a tittle of the power which their charter, according to their very free interpretation, afforded them. In the general court formal examinations were instituted to fix the position of Massachusetts towards England, and the determination they came to was, to consider it as a feudal tenure, like Burgundy or Flanders to France, and even in the same relations, yet with some degree of dependence on England, like the Hanse towns on the Empire, &c. It was also resolved in the general court, that Massa-

chusetts was by its charter a “*perfecta res publica*,” and only preserved by the clause that this was in regard to judicial, not state matters. When Gorton and his com-

1646 panions had succeeded in procuring themselves letters of protection from this commission and the Earl of Warwick, which were to secure them safe conduct through Massachusetts, many, and especially many clergymen, were for arresting the criminals in spite of this, and it was at last resolved to regard the intercession of the Earl of Warwick as a *request*, not as a *command*, and to comply with it; a wise and moderate step, which, however, only passed, by the casting vote of Governor Winthrop.

But there had now been long among the colonists a party who saw in a certain dependence on England rather a security for their freedom than otherwise, and regarded a superintendence from there as a rein to the republican ambition of the colonial government. The real basis of this opposition was the introduction of the church aristocracy, which divided the entire community into two parts; the holy and the unholy, the rulers and the ruled. No prospects of civic authority were open to the latter; they could never fill any office, for only freemen were capable of being elected\* and of electing. The number of freemen was small, not more than as one to three, compared with those who enjoyed neither the advantages of the church nor of the citizenship. Here and there it was complained of that they were ruled like slaves; that all the taxes were equally divided, but that the

\* With the exception of the subaltern officers, who were chosen by their assembled companies, freemen or not; but the elected always were freemen.

privileges belonged to the few. It must have been bitterly felt that all who were not members of the congregational church of Boston were excluded from all judicial power; they could neither be jurymen nor officials; they appeared in their own eyes as though they were delivered into the hands of their enemies, for the priestly haughtiness of the godly towards the godless brought them into this position towards one another. Only the circumstance that the majority of the thinking and able men in Massachusetts belonged to the church, can explain this disproportion having been endured so long.

Another cause of grumbling was the refusal of baptism, this being only granted to the children of members of the church. Thousands, the children of two-thirds of the population, grew up unbaptized, to the annoyance and disquiet of their parents, who, having themselves received the sacrament in their earliest childhood from the church of England, imagined that the salvation of their posterity was dependent on it, and who either could not make up their minds to embrace this church, or, even while they themselves had withdrawn from it, did not wish to see their children excluded. Among the clergy and members of the church, many were decidedly against this exclusiveness of the American church, and were inclined to grant, without making any especial covenant, entrance into the community of Christ to every one who did not exclude himself by sinfulness or heresy. As early as 1638, when a new church was to be founded at Weymouth, this opinion was openly discussed, though very much to the prejudice of those who had been particularly active in getting up a petition to parliament on the matter.

Lenthall the preacher, who had in part started the subject, extricated himself by a species of recantation, and drew off as soon as possible, turning his staff first towards Aquidneck, and then towards England. But the unheard-of tyranny with which unattainable fines were imposed on those who had dared to speak against the church covenant, or even wished to work any change in it (sums which must have made them beggars; a public whipping for those who were not able to pay), oversteps all belief. What greater severity did the prelates ever commit? and is it possible that men of understanding and honesty should deceive themselves in this, and that later patriotic historians should have dared to defend them on this point? They might, by a false point of conscience, consider themselves called on to banish, nay, to slay heretics or false teachers; but when the question was not about any alteration of dogmas, but only a change in form, even the two chief inquisitors, Dudley and Endecott, could not have smelt any heresy. But, notwithstanding this, we find in Winthrop's diary passages like the following: "One Britton, who had spoken blamingly of the answer which had been sent to Mr. Barnard about his book on our church covenant, as also of some of our elders, and had held to Mr. Lenthall's, &c., was publicly whipped because he had no money to pay the fine;" and in the colonial archives of the time a long string of severe or mild punishments for allied offences. Many demanded the presbyterian forms which the puritanical churches of the mother country had taken on, but really only because these had not assumed the detested exclusiveness of the "church within the church," and also because a rein was thus laid on



the individual clergymen, each of whom considered himself in his community as a bishop.

That with this disposition of the people, the regulations of the government still met with no active opposition, arose first from the strictest justice being exercised, except in such cases as (which, however, did not occur often) could either be brought to bear upon the church, or gave room for a suspicion of want of the respect due to the government; and, secondly, in the great advantages which the mass of the people and the labouring classes enjoyed in a greater proportion than any others, in a land where the taxes were very moderate, where nothing was ever heard of chase or forest laws, where fishing, trade and barter were all free. No spiritual disadvantage will ever rouse up a people to insurrection, where preponderating physical advantages are present; yet here and there discontent was to be seen. We have already spoken of Keague's case; the people were *really* concerned in the affair of the military elections at Hingham. This disposition showed itself more clearly in the recruitings against the Narragansetts. Widely different from the time of the Pequodde war, not a volunteer was to be found, and they were obliged to resort to the legal conscriptions. But the discontent displayed itself most in a petition for the abolition of misuses, which the government considered, as it did all petitions emanating from a number, a heavy insult, and punished accordingly.

The petition was chiefly got up by a respectable man, called William Vassal,\* who, as one of the first share-

\* Brother of Samuel Vassal, known in English history as the first who refused to pay the town money. Both the Vassals originally belonged to the Society of Massachusetts.

holders, and one of the government assistants installed by the charter, had arrived in the country in 1630, but soon after, from the absence of any good understanding between him and the other officials, had again left it to return to England. He, however, did not seem very well pleased with the state of matters either here or there. On a subsequent visit he settled in Scituate, close to the boundaries of Massachusetts, belonging to the colony of Plymouth, a remarkable step, situated as he was with regard to the patent. Though he lived retired, he gained many friends in both colonies, and great influence in the whole neighbourhood; but here, as well as there, he was, as member of the episcopal church, excluded for ever from all political influence, or else, as Winslow accuses him, he would not swear the burgess oath, in order to have nothing to do with burthensome offices and other duties of a citizen. His advice was asked on all difficult cases, especially in the war council. His opponents describe him as a man who lived in opposition, always stirring up discontent with witticisms, remarks, &c., ever at hand with counsel, but never taking the trouble to appear as defendant or complainant. Winslow, whom he sought to bring over to his views, regarded him as a salamander, whose element was the fire of discord. He blames him for having made it his business to meet with discontent all measures of the government, especially all imposts, and for having by intrigue principally occasioned the insurrection in Hingham. Others, again, say he was a well-meaning, amiable man; a cheerful companion, full of wit and humour. It is certain that he cherished ill-will against

the narrow-hearted church constitution of the colonies, as against their despotic principles of government, and probably on that account resolved to quit the country, although both his daughters were married, and he left a son behind. The views broached by his influence first of all broke out in Plymouth. Some 1645 of the assistants themselves stepped forth with a proposal for universal tolerance towards all peaceable and obedient subjects, whether papists, arians, familists, Jews or Turks. The greater part of the deputies voted for this ; but such horror did the thought awake among the most respectable of the authorities, such as Bradford, Winslow, Prince, and some others, that the motion could not even be brought to the poll.

Little better result attended a petition to the general court of Massachusetts, emanating 1646 from the union of some malcontents. At the very beginning this petition lost favour, from the fact that most of the petitioners were merely strangers, or in the act to leave the country, and could not consequently be closely interested in it. At their head stood Dr. Robert Child, a young physician, whom it appears scientific pursuits, especially an examination of the iron works, had led hither. He had for some years travelled much in the country, and doubtless intended to settle here. The circumstance of his having received the doctor's hat in Pavia, and having lived long in Italy ; his having been twice to Rome, and even declared that there was much that was valuable among the jesuits—was quite sufficient to arouse the suspicion that he was a spy of that order.

Among the petitioners was also our old acquaintance,

Samuel Maverick. He was one of the very few free-men who were not at the same time members of the church, for he had taken the oath before burgesship was made dependent on the church-ship; but his devotion to the church of England excluded him from all dignities and posts in the colony, which naturally "put him out of tune." Otherwise he was magnanimous, hospitable to profusion; and while he, with aristocratic inconsistency, did not concede the rights of humanity to the unhappy negro slave, he was willing to acknowledge the richer Indian races as equal to himself in birth; for when a pestilential sickness swept away his neighbours, he devotedly nursed them and buried their dead. The other petitioners were also men of rank and fortune, yet altogether they only amounted to seven. Vassal, being non-resident in Massachusetts, and always willing to remain in the back-ground, was not among them.

The petitioners did not appear merely as supplicants, but as remonstrants also, and this was the point which more than any other gave offence. Their tone harmoniously coincided with that of the leaders, so hypocritically did it match with their "pious and blessed" twang. They mixed together assurances of thankfulness and reverence with bitter reproaches in no very flattering manner; discovered in the poor success of the colony, the punishment of Providence for their sins; and compared the community to a ship badly put together, through the leaks of which the water is passing in and drawing it into destruction, and especially recommending four points to the wisdom of the assembly; acceptance of the laws of England—concession of the burgesship without making the church-ship a necessary

condition—reception into the church of all baptized Christians, who did not give offence by a vicious life, and baptism for their children ; finally, if this could not be granted, at least freedom for the unprivileged from burdens and duties. A threat, clothed in as respectful words as the subject permitted, in case of refusal to turn to parliament, gave the crowning blow to the exasperation produced by this document.

The government, perhaps, considered this the most severe insult they had ever received. The whole character of it was the more calculated to embitter, from the petitioners having given themselves an appearance of particular godliness. Gorton already stood as complainant before the court of commission in England, and a reproofing letter from thence showed them that he was not speaking to unwilling ears. They considered it necessary to send Winslow, equally skilful with his tongue and pen ; wise and spirited, devoted with all his soul to their interests ; he, as their agent, should proceed immediately to England to conduct their cause there. A new complaint against them, supported on such a basis, necessarily made his position more trying.

A circumstantial answer to the petitioners was prepared, in which the groundlessness of their complaints was shown point after point, and especially the first, departure from the laws of England, the complete concurrence of which with theirs the government condescended to show the petitioners, by formally comparing the separate points.\* But after this they were sharply rebuked on the other points of their grievances and charges, and ordered to defend them before the

\* Petition and Answer in Hutch. Coll. 188, 218.

court, where their grounds of defence were not admitted: on the contrary, they were, as evil and rebelliously disposed contemners of the authorities, cast in enormous sums,\* not, they were told, for the petition, but for the infamous remonstrance. The condemned appealed to parliament, but the government did not recognize this appeal. Bellingham, Saltonstall, and Broadstreet protested against the sentence, and many deputies joined them.

The ship lay ready for sailing to carry Vassal and some of the petitioners to England. One of them, Fowler, paid his fine, and it seemed impossible to find any pretext for detaining him; but the head ringleader, Dr. Child, seems to have been remiss in giving the security demanded. At a further visit to the court it came to violent speeches and passionate reproaches; in short, there was no want of justification for the resolute authorities in taking him and his comrade Dand prisoners, and searching their trunks, in which were found two complaints and petitions to parliament, of which one had been drawn up by these same men in conjunction with Vassal, and, in addition to bitter complaints about the treatment, went still further in their demands for a reform, begged for a general-governor, a presbyterian church constitution, &c., and, by a series of malicious questions, threw doubts upon the validity of their charter.

The other petition was signed by twenty-five men, not freemen, who declared themselves representatives of many thousands "in sighs and tears," and demanded

\* £30 or £40, according to the supposed degree of their guilt; nay, Dr. Child was fined £50.

freedom of conscience, equality of rights, &c., but, before all, a general governor. The petitioners were the very dregs of the people, servants, fishers, or notorious vagabonds. Among others was a barber, who, when questioned by the governor, excused himself on the plea that "these gentlemen were his customers." That Dr. Child and his comrades could not, with all their trouble, procure any signatures from honourable persons, best proves the unpopularity of the step. Men preferred submitting to almost intolerable oppression, rather than suffer any attacks from England. To this may be added, that already a report had got abroad, that two of the principal difficulties were to be removed. In the again assembled synod general baptism had been debated, and seemed likely to be carried; and in the general court a motion was made to grant to those who were not free the same rights in all that related to their respective towns, and was already about to become law. This was then enough for them, to whom their own matters were naturally more important than colonial matters, without imposing on them the burdens and demanding the sacrifices which the others did; just as setting free the baptism soothed them for a long time in church matters.

The petitioners, who had thus multiplied their fault tenfold in the eye of government, were held in close custody till the ship was gone; and they who could not or would not give security for the punishment, now increased in proportion, were also kept prisoners. It is related that the sum which Dand had to pay amounted to £200. It appears that the government only meant to frighten the transgressors by the amount of the fine,

and to let them see the full extent of their offences, as it never insisted on full payment ; a policy, the soundness of which might well be questioned. Penal laws should be mild, but their execution should be rigorously carried out, instead of, as was the case in Massachusetts, the law being severe and the execution remiss. The prisoners, after having for some time suffered loss of freedom for the utter stupidity of their attempt, were soon released on bail, and early in 1648 set free, without our being able to learn from the report of the day how much of the fine imposed on them was really paid.

In the mean time the excitement in the whole town and neighbourhood was intense, and greatly heightened by the addresses of the preachers, who from every pulpit showed their zeal against the rebellious petitioners, cited similar cases out of Bible history to warn their hearers, poured out upon them with profuse hand such names as sons of Belial, Judas, &c., and exhorted the authorities to severity. The ship which was to carry a complaint against the colony to England still lay in the harbour, when Cotton chose for the subject of one of his lectures the words of the Song of Solomon, ch. ii. ver. 15, "Take us the foxes and the little foxes, that spoil the vines." This sermon offers us a characteristic specimen of the spiritual and political straightforward eloquence of that time, and of the means which the clergy fearlessly used to extend their influence.

After having, in a solemn exhortation, warned those who remained in the land not to stand up against the 'land of Emmanuel, the land that is precious in the eyes of the Lord,' he continued, "and when, secondly, some of our brethren think of going back to England,



and many others will follow them in another ship, let me also speak a word of warning to them. I wish the gracious presence of God may go with them, and his good angels preserve them, not only from the dangers of the sea in the winter time, but also from the errors of the time when they arrive, and may further them in their just purposes; but if there are any of you, my brethren, who go with them, as is said here, to hand in to the High Parliament Court, which God in his grace bless, a petition which must lead to dissension, vexation and disturbance of peace in our church, and to weakening of the government of the land wherein we live, they may know that the Lord will never favour them in their treacherous, wicked and desperate attempts against this people, His people, who are dear to him as the apple of his eye. But if there are any of you that are going there, I warn them and counsel them in the fear of the Lord, when the terrors of the Almighty seize the vessel wherein they are; when heaven looks angrily down on them; when the waves of the sea swell over them and dangers threaten them around, as I believe it will be,—I would that they thought of this thing. For the time of desolation is the time for the children of God to think of their ways. *I will not give the counsel which was given for Jonas, to take such a man and throw him into the sea.* God forbid. But I might counsel such a one to take a resolution to abstain from such an undertaking, *never to go further in it, and to throw into the sea a petition which has occasioned so much uneasiness and uproar.* But, [perhaps from hard-heartedness and obstinacy, they should stiff neckedly resist, and the Lord should save the vessel, out of compassion towards some

of you who are precious in his eyes, and I am convinced there are many such going in the ship, yet let them know that the Lord hath many courts for them on the land, and that they are not spoken free ! For he is the God of the land as he is of the sea ; and when ye turn to the fourth book of Moses, ch. xiv. verses 36 and 37, ye will see how he threatens to destroy with the pestilence those who have spread a false alarm over his land ; and truly I may say to you, God hath still pestilence in store for those who give false witness against his people and his church. Nay, the Lord hath, I hear, a destroying angel, with the sword of the pestilence mowing down here and there in that kingdom,\* as he thinks good,—and who knows what the Lord means to do ? I therefore counsel you in the fear of God, and I pronounce it as his unworthy prophet, after the part of his word from which I now speak, to lay these things to your heart. For it is the Lord Jesus who hath said, ‘Take us the foxes, the little foxes, or let them be taken,’ and believe me this is the truth ; all they who go about to undermine the church of Christ with foxes’ cunning and artifice, shall be taken in the same traps and snares which they have prepared for others.”

One cannot doubt the impression which such a sermon must have made on a congregation long accustomed to regard Cotton as the select organ of God one of his inspired prophets. Vassal certainly laughed ! and asked each one whether he belonged to the small or the large foxes ? but others trembled. Nay, one Thomas Peters, who had already shipped his bed and luggage, had all unpacked again, and took his departure

\* This refers to an infectious disease at that time raging in England.

in another ship. The banned vessel was scarcely on the sea before a powerful storm arose, which would be easily explained now by observing that it was harvest ; but the anxiety of the travellers rose to the highest pitch. In a very stormy night, a "godly sensible woman" came in the greatest anxiety from between decks to the cabin, and conjured Vassal to deliver to her for destruction the Jonas who had awakened God's anger. In order to quiet her, a paper was really given up, which was, in fact, a copy of the petition to the government of Massachusetts. This was torn into a thousand pieces, and, to the great comfort of the harassed travellers, committed to the mercy of the winds and waves. The storm, probably because it was not the genuine petition, raged on ; and after fourteen days' incessant driving about, they were rescued by an ever-active Providence from constant danger of foundering on the rocks, and arrived in England.

There Edward Winslow was defending the cause of the colonies against Gorton. Besides having handed in complaints to the commission, Gorton had also exposed his cause to the public in a writing entitled, "Simplicity's Defence against Seven-headed Policy," in which he circumstantially related the history of his maltreatment in Massachusetts. Winslow forthwith published a counter writing, "Hypocrisy Unmasked," with an appendix containing a defence against the work which had just appeared directed at the independents, and historically developing the reasons for their emigration. Vassal had scarcely arrived in England, when he, or perhaps Major Childs, brother of the Doctor, at his instigation, joined the combatants, armed with a pamphlet entitled,

“New England’s Jonas thrown on Shore at London.” An attack which Winslow refuted, blow for blow, in a counter pamphlet, “New England’s Salamander. These six small controversial papers give us, in fact, a complete glance into the events and temper of the time, and were, with the historical news they contain (valuable to posterity), the only results of two detestable events which had called the most of them into life. For England, torn by civil war, and casting the die for the throne and life of its born prince, had already her eye fixed on other matters. Gorton certainly found protectors; he received from the court of commission a recommendation to Massachusetts to let him and his, quietly come and go; to leave them in quiet possession of the lands cultivated by them, so long as they behaved properly, and to let them remain under the authority of that colony in which, on narrower examination, Shawomet was found to be. But his demand for vengeance on Massachusetts was not gratified, any more than the complaints and grievances of Vassal and Child; the parliament had at that time no desire to shake the proud spirit of the colonists which so displeased him; and while it rather begged like a friendly neighbouring power than ordered like a legal tribunal, Massachusetts was careful not to irritate the mighty friend whose anger might have been very dangerous.

Meanwhile, in the character of a religiously excited time, both parties were busily occupied in pointing out the especial grace of God to them and their way of acting, and, instead of seeking it in their own breasts, expected to find it in outward signs of approval or disapproval from heaven. When Winthrop’s horse fell

during a journey from Plymouth to Boston, whither he was going to take instructions against Gorton, one of the seven petitioners, called Burton, triumphed loudly, and said that this was a sign of the ill-will of heaven. But when he, with the evil decision of parliament in his hand, was hastening away in a violent passion, and fell dangerously, from not noticing his way, which lamed him for several months; when Child, by his blind vehemence involved himself in disagreeable matters, and Fowler lost all his fortune—then was the time for a holy, malignant joy among their opponents. The period drew nigh when they were to see themselves at the summit of their republican independence, and the evening of life of the first race of inhabitants was to be irradiated by a splendour with which they durst not have flattered themselves during the severe battles of the morning.

During this time the clergymen of Massachusetts had been intent on forming themselves into a firm body, by means of defined laws, to the principles of which all members were to submit. The second synod was assembled in Cambridge, to which also Connecticut, Newhaven, and Plymouth, sent their clergy and elders. After several adjournments, they 1646 united themselves into a church constitution, which, under the name of the Platform of Cambridge, was accepted throughout New England, and, with some unimportant alterations, held good till the revolution in Massachusetts; but in the beginning of the next century was, in Connecticut, expelled by the Platform of Saybrook. It introduced nothing new, but brought what had long existed into one system and made it legal, the

synod recommending it, together with the confession of faith of Westminster, to the general assembly of the churches.

Besides, presbyterian forms had crept into some of the churches, and their introducers had either come to terms with the congregational by a sort of treaty, or, as in the case of Hobart, pastor of Hingham, steadily maintained themselves by war and contention. What threatened to make this constitution popular was, that the clergymen devoted to it baptized all children (though this had no real connexion with presbyterianism) who were brought to them, especially Hobart, who valiantly stood all the storms which arose about this. We shall afterwards allude to the baptists, who at this time began to raise their heads, and to the severe laws against them.

In no point did the puritanical planters of America appear in a fairer light than in their early, zealous care for general instruction. Public schools were spoken of as early as 1635, and two years later, free schools were erected by subscription. In 1646, an act of the government made it incumbent on all townships of more than fifty families to support a schoolmaster, and on every one of a hundred to set up a Latin school, at which their sons could be educated till they went to a university. Out of hate and prejudice, and also historical ignorance, the old puritans have been confounded by their adversaries with the fanatical sects whom the time of the reformation also called forth. They were declared to be despisers of science and defenders of a mere holy inspiration, while it was they who, in England, really revived Bible learning, and they declared that critical

study of the Scriptures, and of the oriental languages, were, for the due expounding of the Bible, indispensably necessary to a clergyman; so long as they had mastery in America they held fast to this. Nay, when the fanatic but liberal views of Cromwell, their patron, who declared the man to be the best fighter who was the best prayer, and permitted an unbounded freedom of doctrine and sermon—when whole masses of ignorant fanatics and bigoted screamers appeared as preachers and overflowed the pulpits—this unseemly extension of their principles of freedom of prophesying was not agreeable to them, and they found themselves called on to check the disorder, partly by some very inconsistent attacks, which they made on the acknowledged right of their communities to choose their own pastors, in order to guard them from unlearned preachers, partly by a formal law contradicting all their fundamental principles, which forbade any one to preach who 1653 had not obtained the consent of the authorities and of four of the neighbouring churches, a rule against which no representations were of any avail.\*

The fathers of Massachusetts had, accordingly, for some time contemplated the founding of a classical school, the solid and pure doctrines of which they themselves could watch over, and which should form teachers of religion and statesmen for generations to come. Amidst the preparations for the Pequodde war, a sum of gold was destined to this purpose, of exactly the same amount as the yearly taxes of the colony. A school was founded with it in Newtown, which 1636 soon after, as a good omen for the town, was baptized Cambridge. For Cambridge in England was

\* Hubbard, 550. Hutchinson, i. 188. Mass. Hist. Coll. xxi. 38. 47.

regarded by our planters with especial reverence, as being the Alma Mater of the most learned puritans. The opulent preacher, Harvard, left his fortune to this college, and it was called, by an act of the government, Harvard College, in honour of him. The other colonies also acknowledged the importance of a learned school, and were willing to contribute by small presents to its support. In the following year, the first printing-office was erected in New England. At the elections

1639 of the schoolmaster, for the principal of the schools still bore this modest name, they were unfortunate, for he had to be deposed in a very contemptuous way for maltreatment of the under-teacher, and neglect of the scholars, and expelled from the church, in spite of all the wish they had to spare him, in order to avoid scandal. But after this they were

1640 lucky enough to gain as presidents for the college some excellent men, renowned in the history of English theology, such as Demster and Chauncey, and the institution thrived apace. In

1650 1650, it was formally incorporated as a university, and retained its constitution, with slight alterations, so long as the colonists were in possession of their first charter.

1649 Shortly before this, Governor Winthrop died, a man of acknowledged probity, unselfish in the highest degree, and unwearied by active exertion for the good of the young state, which he had himself created to the honour of God. All his ambition was centred in one dignity, that of being the most zealous servant of Jesus Christ, and extender of his realm. With a naturally soft heart, which showed itself most amiably in



family life and intercourse with his friends, he could be severe, nay cruel, when he thought he owed it to the maintenance of the public peace, but especially of the pure doctrine. As he had himself offered up all for the new temple of God, he demanded from others the same renunciation of self-interest, and with capricious narrow-mindedness could not forgive them vices which crossed his own darling views. With the stern, iron Dudley, with whom he in general coincided exactly, he lived in harmony, after his noble nature had twice recoiled at a tangent from the common stuff of such a dry man of the law, and this union, strengthened by marriage, lasted to death. He was equally skilled in practical law, and in theological subtleties. The holy writings were the studies of his soul and heart, and he was unwearied in applying their prophecies to the events of the day, and finding parallels for the one in the other. No one surpassed him in that meditative false wisdom, which seeks human interpretations for Divine Providence, and, in blind zeal for God's honour, throws stones at every neighbour. But though his severe rigorism had grown up during a life in the wilderness, surrounded by dangers of all kinds in which the power of imagination among the puritans, filled with Biblical pictures, saw without distinction the temptations of Satan, yet increasing age seemed to make him softer and more humane.

Once at the head of the antinomistic persecutors, he yet condemned the severity with which, at a later period, one Captain Partridge was, in the depth of winter, together with his wife and child, driven out of the country and forced to take refuge in Rhode Island,

for having on board ship, on a journey thither, let fall some antinomistic expressions which he refused to recant on the spot. When he lay on his death-bed, Dudley wished him to sign the condemnation of some poor misbeliever; but he pushed the paper back and said, "I fear I have done too much of that in my life."

A year before his death, when he had already left more than sixty winters behind him, he committed the folly of a fourth marriage, having a short time previously buried his amiable wife, with whom he had lived happily above thirty years. Many doughty sons continued his race, and most honourably, John, whom we shall greet on his high career as governor of Connecticut. He was almost constantly in high station, and if not governor, at least governor's assistant.\* Besides this, he was regarded in England, as elsewhere, as the true head of the government, and his name was never mentioned without the highest respect.

\* That is, deputy governor, or vice governor.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

RHODE ISLAND.—PLYMOUTH.—CONNECTICUT.—  
NEWHAVEN. — TO 1660.

IN the mean time the other colonies had been fairly roused up, and all New England seemed advancing towards a rapid development. Providence and the district around, which the pure humanity of Roger Williams had, as it were, won from persecution, always offered an asylum to the heterodox. Blackstone, the wonderful clergyman, whom we already see, in 1630, saluted as the first possessor of the soil of Boston, did not long hold out against the new arrivers. "He had not," he said, "fled from the lords bishops in England, to be ruled by the lords brethren!" He soon struck his tent, and followed Roger Williams into the wilderness, however little he might be in accord 1635 with him in his religious principles. Here, having accidentally got within the boundaries of Plymouth, not far from Patucket, and near the present town of Cumberland, he again built with industrious hand; and the hill is yet shown on which stood the house of the learned hermit, who had gone to the wilderness with a Latin library. The little house he had built is still called "Study Hall;" the hill is still called "Study Hill;" the part of the Patucket which touches its foot, "Black-

stone River." Here, as in Massachusetts, he won the fame of being the first to cultivate a garden and fruit; and when Providence grew up to be a church-town, and he at times went thither to preach, he was wont to fill his pockets with rosy apples, and therewith to attract cheerful childhood to the church, and to reward their pious industry, and make his sermons *savoury*. Tradition shows us the wonderful hermit in his old days, when walking began to be troublesome to him, how, for want of a horse, he had tamed an ox, mounted on which he entered Providence; doubtless, friendlily greeted by the lusty youth. He died at an advanced age, in 1676, just as the bloody war broke out between his countrymen and the neighbouring Indians, who also burned and wasted the property of the departed.

The planting of Providence offers at its commencement a wonderful picture of conflicting elements: Englishmen and Indians; pious and unbelievers; sages and enthusiasts, all in motley mixture, without any other bond than that of a town-fellowship of the first forty settlers, and of a peaceable treaty, which was grounded on their personal knowledge of Roger Williams, between the Indians and the whites. Who can

1640 wonder at seeing this discordant society spend its best forces in incessant battles and disputes? The authority of Williams settled a few questions, and his presence was always that of a peace-maker; but we have seen how the Arnolds, and their comrades of Patuxet, found more security in the severe justice of Massachusetts, and how they, very much to the discomfiture of the others, called it in.

In the neighbouring Rhode Island (Aquidneck had

been called the Island of Rhodes by its first planters, from which the change to the popular Rhode Island was very natural), a formal government was established, but the want of credentials from England was sadly missed; for Plymouth—although governors Bradford, Clark, and Williams had confessed before they began building there that they had no claim on it, but, on the contrary, asserted that they would then be free as themselves—now began, spurred on by Massachusetts, to lay claim to the possession of the blooming island. But Massachusetts had contrived to procure from parliament a patent for Providence, under the name of “Land of the Narragansetts;” but of which they for the present made no further use, because parliament had at the same time reserved for itself the best rights. .643

Both the endangered colonies agreed accordingly to send Roger Williams to England, that he might procure for them a charter. In the harvest of the following year he returned in possession of such a document, which united into one colony Providence and Rhode Island, under the name of the Plantation of Providence. He had found friends in England, especially through Sir Henry Vane, who had in the mean time acquired great influence there; and a paper on the Indian languages, which also contains many valuable notices on their customs and manners, compiled by him on the voyage, was received with remarkable interest by the commission for American affairs, and had inclined them favourably to the author. In their writing to the government of Massachusetts, in which they recommended them to give the “homeward-bound” good

reception and peaceable passage, they expressly remark that this was the only document of this kind existing relative to any part of America.

Williams had been obliged to embark in Manhattan, the present New York, as he was banished out of the district of Massachusetts. During his short stay in Manhattan he had an opportunity of exercising his wonderful influence on the minds of the Indians, by happily staying the hostilities which had broken out between the Dutch and the Indians of Long Island. With a letter of recommendation from the lords, who were as much friends to him as to Massachusetts, he ventured to land in Boston.

The noble man felt no triumph in this justification against his former persecutors. The more fortunate he was, the more modest, nay, the more humble did he become; but in Providence itself the purest joy was prepared for him by his friends. He was received like a benefactor: the river was covered with boats, bearing his thankful fellow-citizens, who joyfully saw in the midst of them the father of the people, and welcomed him with blessings.

The document from the Earl of Warwick prescribed no definite form of government to the planters. It was drawn out for "a tract of land in America called Narragansett Bay; bounded on the north and north-east by Massachusetts, east and south-east by Plymouth, south by the Atlantic, west and north-west by the Indians called the Narragansetts." As the towns Portsmouth and Newport are mentioned, it was understood that Rhode Island was comprised in it. It was left to the majority to choose their form of government, and to

make themselves laws, to which the only condition attached was that they should not be opposed to those of England.

It may be easily supposed that the form of a constitution, which should unite so many heterogeneous elements, would be no very easy task. Nearly three years rolled away before all was completely organized, and a general assembly could be held. In the mean time Shawomet, or Warwick, had been added to the three places mentioned; for Gorton had again 1647 taken possession of the land bought by him and his people, nor, after having preferred a respectful request, were they again disturbed by Massachusetts. The position of the place brought them within the charter of Providence, to which they willingly submitted. The constitution to which they had joined themselves left their own affairs, as much as possible, to each of the four townships, for the administration of which four men were chosen in each town; justice was arranged in the same way; the legislative power for the whole colony was given over to the court of commission, consisting of twenty-four persons, of whom each town named six; the executive, to a council composed of a president and four assistants, one of whom was to be selected by each town from among their freemen; this council was at the same time the highest legal tribunal to which appeal could be made from the so-called town-courts. Together with the constitution a book of laws was adopted, which was merely an extensive extract from the laws of England, and adapted to their state with some few additions: their first president was John Coggeshall, who had come over from Massachusetts.

All church matters were most stringently separated from the civic; universal freedom of conscience was the basis of their commonweal.

It was especially this point which brought the colony into ill-repute among its neighbours. All misunderstandings which broke out among the planters of Providence were magnified there, with malicious pleasure, into divisions and feuds. There was, indeed, no want of collisions, which in the stormy meetings did not always bear the most respectable character; nay, unreasonable or unquiet heads thought they could go some steps farther, on the faith of the views of their founder as to Christian freedom. In order to prevent all misunderstandings on this point, he said, in a writing to the burgesses of Providence, "thus many a ship goes to sea, with many a hundred souls in one vessel, whose weal and woe are all in common. This is a true picture of a state or community, or of any human society. It has many a time happened that Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, have embarked in the same craft. This being granted, I assert that all freedom of conscience, which I defend, turns on these two pivots:— that no one of these Papists, Protestants, Turks, or Jews, shall be compelled to be present at the ship service, or be prevented by force from joining in his own if he wish to do so. I may add, that I have never denied that, notwithstanding this freedom, the commander of the ship ought to decide on the course the ship is to take; nay, he has so to direct that justice, peace, and respect be held and exercised, as well among the seamen as among the passengers. When any one of the crew refuses to perform his duty, or a passenger to pay his



fare ; when any one refuses, either in person or in purse, to contribute to the common expenses or to the common defence ; when any one shows himself refractory, or rebels against the commander or officers ; when any one preaches or writes that there shall be no commander, no superiors, because all are alike in Christ, and therefore will have no master, no officials, no laws and ordinations, no corrections and punishments—then I have, I say, never denied that the commander or commanders may judge, prevent, compel, and punish such transgressors as they merit.”

In spite of this clear declaration, he was doomed to experience that they, who for their own part would fain have enjoyed complete unbridled licentiousness, appealed to him, nay, even repeatedly sought to turn his principles against him, after having arbitrarily deserted them. The union of the colonies of Providence and Rhode Island, longed for by the majority, seems to have been from the very first opposed by a party, which feared thereby to lose influence. The new constitution had been nominally introduced more than a year, when two of the most respectable citizens of Rhode Island. William Coddington and Captain Partridge, thought themselves at liberty to set on foot a negotiation quite independent of Providence, by petitioning 1648 the united colonies to receive into their confederation only the inhabitants of Rhode Island. The answer of, the commissioners must have not a little surprized them for they only conceded their reception on the condition that they acknowledged their Island as included in the patent of Plymouth. This occurred eight years later, when the government of this colony had assigned over

to them this piece of land as totally independent, and had expressly welcomed them as neighbours. Instead of this usurpation deciding him upon a closer union with Providence, we see William Coddington soon after go over to England, and return with a document drawn out by the council of state, appointing him governor for life of Rhode Island. It is not known what means he employed to effect a regulation which was in direct opposition to the charter given a few years before by the commission for American affairs. The complete ignorance, as well of the locality as of the rights, with which colonial affairs were then conducted in England, strikes sharply on the mind. For that charter only mentions the two townships, Portsmouth and Newport, situated near Rhode Island, not Rhode Island itself. Without doubt the gentlemen in England did not know, when they granted Coddington's request, that it was the very place they had, a year or two previously, given away to the others.

But the colony, which had hoped to attain to freedom in the interior and respect abroad, was far removed from intending to acknowledge Coddington in his new dignity. By dint of exertion, a considerable sum was raised, to send over to England two of the best men of the new settlement, Williams and Clarke, to appeal upon, and to set right, this point. Shawomet alone subscribed £100, the half of the sum necessary. In Providence some gave £10, some £20, sums which in those days represented three times as much, and with their poverty seem incredible. But they thought themselves bound to do every thing to guard against disunion, and perhaps, as a consequence, falling into the hands of the united colonies.

The two deputies went to England. A letter of the council of state above alluded to had empowered Williams, at his last return, to travel through Massachusetts, and to embark and disembark there. But it appears from a later letter, that when he now made use of it, there was no want of embarrassment and annoyance. The resolution of the parliament to take the colonies under stricter supervision, and to compel them to acknowledge its high authority, took place at the time of his stay in England. Massachusetts had therefore to apply for a renewal of its patent, and extricated itself from the embarrassment by a petition to its patrons. Without doubt this is connected with the suspension of the charter of Providence, an isolated fact which never had any result. We hear nothing more of it; on the contrary, Williams seems to have had no difficulty in procuring a recall of Coddington's appointment, partly through his personal acquaintance with Cromwell, and partly through Sir H. Vane's influence, which was then at its height. He spent a great part of his time in England at Vane's country house, but he did not allow himself to be detained long by personal advantages, for having luckily finished his business, he returned back as peacemaker to the colonies, and at the general wish, took the place of president, which he filled for two years.

Clarke remained in England, as agent for the colonies, related the story of his persecutions through the inquisitorial spirit of Massachusetts, and, in contra-distinction to the then well-known writing by Winslow, "Good Newes from England, a relation of New England's Settlement, &c.," he called his, "Ill Newes from New

England, or a Narrative of New England's persecution." By this, as by his personal appearance, he awakened such interest, and finally gained such influence, that after the restoration he succeeded in procuring for his home colonies their second liberal constitution.

In the mean time, the usurped rule of Coddington had fallen asunder of itself, and after a few months he was chased away by a rebellious crowd, whereupon the whole island again returned under the common government. All the plantations, now that the personal character of their president assured them peace with the Narragansetts, would have been able to raise themselves quietly and independently if the colonies in the vicinity had not constantly disturbed them by their usurpations. A proposal, made by Roger Williams and Clarke, for the united settlement to be admitted into the union, seems like that of Rhode Island to have been arrogantly rejected. They could not agree with Plymouth as to the boundary line. Connecticut, unmindful that in the Pequodee war it owed its preservation to the noble-minded activity of Williams, did not refrain from repeatedly injuring his plantation, by granting to some of its members the right of buying and planting those lands, without, however, setting them free from that jurisdiction. Massachusetts behaved still more inimically. It has already been mentioned, that, supported on invalid documents, it had extended its claims to the whole land of the Narragansetts. But the real apple of discord was the Indians dwelling in Shawomet, as also the four English families who had submitted to Massachusetts. Shawomet had in the mean time grown to a populous place, and had been

called Warwick, in honour of its noble patron. Its founders had presented to the council of state a claim for £2,000 damages, and expected a successful award; but in the mean time the peace of the inhabitants was incessantly disturbed by the robberies and irruptions of the Indians dwelling among them, who boldly menaced under the protection of the mighty Massachusetts. Even so the four English freeholders refused to fulfil their duties to Providence, and to obey its laws, from which naturally resulted a complete subversion of all order.

Massachusetts committed a third crying injustice by conceding free trade in all other things, while it was forbidden to sell powder and shot to Providence. Winthrop had already felt how impolitic this step was, but could not procure a recall of it. Many 1644 years after, Roger Williams, as president of the plantations treated in this unchristian manner, in vain petitioned the government of Massachusetts, in urgent letters, on this point. He showed them that the preservation of Providence was a wall of protection to them (Massachusetts) against the Indians and the Dutch. "Are we your sentries? then sentries must not be left unsupported!" His zealous, untiring struggles, wrested from them, that Massachusetts, at their 1655 request, released from their oath the subjects so unjustly claimed, whom now nothing hindered from becoming citizens of Providence. The best of them, Benedick Arnold, had already separated from them and was gone to Newport, but the Indians were influenced into settling in Massachusetts, or they died away like their brothers around about them, so that in a few years Warwick

and the plantations of Providence could in general congratulate themselves on having the order and tranquillity of a civilized community as completely as could be expected, considering the weakness of the government and the complete democracy of the state.

They, nevertheless, did not therefore cease to be an object of contempt and distrust to the other colonies. For they tolerated all religious sects, and the baptists, hated and persecuted by the zealous puritans, had soon become the preponderating party. Roger Williams was inclined to the baptists, though it is not certain that he ever formally went over to them, as was told in Massachusetts with all sorts of malicious additions. But their real head was a physician called John Clark, who, in 1644, founded the first baptist church in Rhode Island. Nine years after, the baptists of the colony were com-

1653      pelled to divide into two parties, on account of the weighty point of laying on of hands at the communion! Some years later, a third branch sprouted out, whose conscience was shocked by celebrating the sabbath on the first day instead of on the seventh; this was the still existing sect of the seven-day baptists. In

1665      the mean time, the quakers had come to America; and whilst they in Massachusetts were about to bow their necks in a bloody tragedy, in Rhode Island, hundreds went over to them, and among these

1657      many baptist communities.\* Besides all who fell away, even in small numbers, from the existing communities formed themselves into separate ones, so that in a short time there was not any possible

\* Among others, Coddington, one of the founders of their state, was a quaker.

distortion of the Christian dogmas which had not its representative in the colony. Complete harmony could not certainly rule here; but as no one was mighty or oppressive, it came to no open outbreak, and the greater part of the fanatical abortions, as no importance was attached to them, and no one could be martyred, disappeared almost as fast as they had arisen. However senseless the appearances fantasy and obscurity might there call to life, they had no influence on civic matters, a circumstance to which the enemies of tolerance were diligently blind.

Roger Williams was far from having appeased his enemies by the essential services which he had rendered them. Winthrop, indeed, seems, as we have previously shown, to have ever remained his secret friend, although, as a statesman and a man of orthodox mind, he condemned him. He never seems to have ceased carrying on a private correspondence with him. A few years after his exile, we find Winthrop and him buying the island Prudence, in Narragansett Bay—a most striking undertaking between the superior officer of a state and a man banished from that state. Williams relates, also, in one of his letters, that Winthrop and some others had, after the Pequodde war, endeavoured to procure the repeal of his banishment, but that their efforts had been wrecked by the intolerance of one man, perhaps Dudley or Cotton. But all this did not make the noble man waver in his principles, and the writing he had published during his stay in England, directed against the “bloody doctrine of faith” and the “inquisition spirit” of Massachusetts, displayed his principles, if not in a polished style, yet still in nervous, clear thoughts. It was an-

swered by a writing of Cotton's, bearing the title of "The Bloody Tenent of Faith washed white in the Blood of the Lamb," to which Williams again responded by another, "The Bloody Tenent of Faith yet more Bloody by the efforts of Mr. Cotton to wash it white."

Though these writings, as well as their titles, bear the impress of their time, yet Roger Williams shows himself still more a slave to these tasteless subtleties in his proceedings against the quakers, when, in his old age, he sought to encounter them with words and writings. But he remained true to himself in so far as he contented himself with words and writings, and never used his influence to persecute them, however hateful to him might be their deism, seen peering from its mystic mantle, and the fanatical darkness by which the quakers were distinguished at their first appearance. In other respects, he lived to a quiet and respected old age, known as the umpire, and only striving to preserve at home harmony and Christian love, and with the other colonies, peace. The royal commissioners, who were sent to the colonies after the restoration to settle their difficulties, and examine into their rights, always treated him with the greatest respect, and employed him as umpire in the Indian matters. His behaviour forms a meritorious contrast to that of Gorton, who, as soon as the setting star of Massachusetts gave him an opportunity, sought to injure them in every way, while Williams, certainly not less injuriously insulted, liberally used what influence

1683 he had to serve his sinking enemies. He died a vigorous "grey head" of eighty-four, and left behind him the colony he had founded in a comparatively blooming and safe condition, now that it had in



some measure overcome the results of the Indian war, the victim to which it was, without taking any part in it.

We have already traced the development of Plymouth. They, the pioneers of the wilderness, were obliged to see themselves overshadowed in all things by Massachusetts. But there was no want of spirit of enterprise and activity, although a most sad one of means to carry out their undertakings, on which so many a plan shattered. There was the settlement on the Connecticut, which they could neither extend nor maintain, until at last they saw themselves expelled by  
Massachusetts. On the Penobscot, also, they 1628  
had erected a trading house, but it was attacked 1635  
and plundered by L'Aulney's men with unheard-of treachery. All further attempts to settle there failed, and a private understanding of Allerton did not succeed better. Their undertaking on the Ken-  
nebeck was for some time more successful, 1628  
and they had taken out a patent securing them 1629  
the exclusive possession of all the trade, but the advantages resulting from it had like to have cost them dear. The agents of Lords Say and Brooke, on the Piscataqua, sent a boat thither; a general quarrel arose out of the obstructions which the Plymouthers opposed to them, in consequence of which two men fell: the leader of the noblemen's bark was one of them. Religious  
union held these noblemen in check; they de- 1634  
clared that they could easily arm a war ship and revenge themselves (their men were more in fault than those of Plymouth), but that, out of Christian love, they would be content with a simple judicial investigation. Thus their commercial advantages were made disagreeable to

the Plymouthers. In the mean time they did not neglect establishing there a formal government, and fortifying the place, when Massachusetts extended its

1652 claims also to Maine. All the settlers were called together, and an oath of allegiance taken from them to England and the government of Plymouth.

1654 When the war broke out with the Pequodees, resentment at the remissness of Massachusetts in supporting them against the French, and in acknowledging their exclusive right to trade on the Kenebeck and Connecticut, held them back at first from joining in the preparations. The same motives impeded their joining the union, until, principally through Winslow's influence, a more correct knowledge of their own interests decided them on forgetting these injuries.

Since the annihilation of the hostile Pequodees, the settlers of Connecticut had left themselves in a more quiet state of possession, and had made great extensions by buying and clearing out some of Uncas's lands, to which he readily agreed for some presents, and by some

1640 other purchases. On the north-east shore of Long Island wanderers from Connecticut had settled, as also about the same time families who had belonged to the colony of New Haven. This island had been previously given to Earl Stirling by King Charles,

1639 in a fit of cheap generosity. The Dutch had already settled in the western part of it, and when the colonists of Connecticut seemed like to spread themselves towards the others, they were rather sharply warned off by governor Kieft, a rude, decided man. The settlers of Connecticut, in order to revenge themselves, forthwith sequestered the house of Good Hope, which the Dutch maintained not far from Hartford.

This was the beginning of a series of public and private animosities between the Dutch and the two colonies Connecticut and New Haven, which the others never designated but as New Netherlands, in order still to maintain their claims. But it at length came to a peaceable treaty. The Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, a man of peaceable disposition, energy, and wisdom, came personally to Hartford. Bradstreet of Massachusetts, prince of Plymouth, and two Englishmen, settlers under Dutch authority, were chosen umpires. Long Island was divided into two parts, and the boundary, as fixed on the main land at the English settlements, could not approach the Hudson within ten miles ; the other parts of the treaty were not accurately maintained. They of Connecticut blamed Stuyvesant for having supported the Indians, who, under Ninigret and Niantik, showed themselves hostile. A new outbreak seemed near, nay, inevitable ; the commissioners decided for it ; only Massachusetts, which neither Dutch nor Indian dared to touch, held fiercely back, and its general assembly declared expressly against the war. It was only when an express command came from Cromwell to treat the Dutch as foes, and when a fleet was sent from England, at the request of New Haven, and arrived at Boston, that they resolved to allow recruiting, though they took no steps towards getting troops ready. The two hard-pushed colonies protested loudly against his moderation, which seemed to them a breach of faith, and it had nearly come to a dissolution of the union, when, luckily, the news of the peace, just concluded,

1643

1650

1651

1653

1654 arrived from Europe, and, for a time, put a stop to all hostilities.\*

With the same selfishness Massachusetts allowed herself to be decided on sending troops against Ninigret, which the instructions of the leader, Major Willard, were rather calculated to prevent than to urge on the war. When, accordingly, Willard found the land of the Nakantikers neglected, and heard that Ninigret, with his whole tribe, had fled to a morass fifteen miles wide, he returned to Massachusetts without having done any thing, or even without having wasted the country, according to the rules of war of that time. Ninigret's principal offence this time against the colonies consisted in his making war on the Indians of Long Island, who had submitted to the English, and by whom he thought himself injured. Massachusetts, perhaps, did not act so wrongly in preventing by inactivity a bloody war, although the other colonies ascribed it to selfishness and lust of sway, and at the time greatly estranged themselves from her. The Indians, however, remained quiet for twenty years after.

In spite of all this incitement to ever-watchfulness, the inward growth of Connecticut increased rapidly, and on its smiling plains arose village after village, and church after church. Saybrook, once a mere castle, had in a short time become a blooming place, by the settlement there of a man of rank and fortune, George Fenwick, one of the holders of the patent. He had

\* The English troops which came with the fleet, finding now nothing to do against the Dutch, without any further scruple moved northwards, and expelled the French from Penobscot and all Arcadia; an attack, during peace, which the French, otherwise so sensitive, very incomprehensibly never revenged on Cromwell.

come to take possession of the land for the lords Say and Brooke and their companions, but he found that the planters of Massachusetts were too far spread out, and that the interest of the Lords in their American possessions ceased in the year 1641, and Fenwick, after having buried his wife, Lady Butler, a woman of high rank, in the wilderness, returned to England; but previously to this, he sold, not only Saybrook, which he had built, but also, to the men of Hartford, the patent, in the name of all the patentees. The sum 1644 which they had to pay for this imaginary right amounted to no less than £1600. Fenwick rejected the claims of Massachusetts to the land of the Pequoddes. In the next year the colony of Connecticut counted eight taxable towns; in 1650, ten. Springfield, a settlement of the people of Roxburgh, on the Connecticut, north of the three river towns, had 1645 also been claimed by Massachusetts, on the occasion of fixing the boundaries, as belonging to the territories.

Now, on the declaration of the government of Connecticut, a toll had been paid by the river towns for the support of Fort Saybrook, at the mouth of the stream; this, however, Springfield refused to pay. The 1646 commissioners of the united colonies decided against Springfield, and it had to pay the toll. Massachusetts, in revenge, laid a tax on all ships 1647 coming to the harbour for the maintenance of the fort on Castle Island, by which it was protected. This naturally created bad feeling, and the commissioners of Plymouth and Newhaven fairly put it to the government of Massachusetts, in writing, if this was acting according to the doctrines of Christian love? For-

tunately Saybrook soon fell into decay ; the tax ceased, and Massachusetts soon abolished the impost.

The interior administration of the colony of Connecticut was in all favourable to the true development of the powers of individuals. The best and wisest men were yearly elected officers of government, and we hear of no misuse of their little power, of no arbitrary encroachments. In general the same principles prevailed in Massachusetts ; general instruction and careful education, especially knowledge of the Bible, were rightly held to be the best base of a good community, and they accordingly took up betimes the same regulations as were in use there for the schools. The clergy were called in to council in all things, but already the fact that citizenship was not united to the churchdom, served to maintain a sort of equilibrium. Their laws, produced by the necessity of the moment, or borrowed from those of Massachusetts, were at last completed and arranged by Ludlow, and introduced as the only current code.\* Sects or dissenters were, if "moderate orthodox persons," treated in this code with the most surprizing indulgence. They were allowed to hold their own divine service, when they had received the permission of the government, but at the same time their increase was secretly provided against, a penalty of £5 being set upon joining a church without a license. All the young people must be catechized every week, and the select men must provide the families with Bibles, catechisms,

\* The laws of Connecticut were otherwise in most respects the same as those of Massachusetts, and much bloodier than those of Plymouth. Until the year 1672, death was set upon adultery, and, till 1674, upon blasphemy.

and other religious books, under a heavy penalty in case of neglect. But even this was not enough; all the criminal laws had to be read once a-week in every family, expounded and indelibly engraved on the minds of the youth. For their conviction of the inborn sinfulness and corruption of the human race was too firm to admit a doubt of the validity of this rule, which must have endangered the purity of the youthful imagination, by making it familiar with all the crimes humanity is prone to.

Some of their other laws indicate a strangely humane attachment, to old ways, as, for instance, in respect to tobacco smoking they distinguished between those who had accustomed themselves to smoking, and those who had till now kept clear of this vice, which was held to be a kind of debauch, being at that time never called any thing but tobacco drinking. Persons under twenty years of age were not permitted to smoke without a written license of the government, and this was only furnished on a certificate from a physician. Even those who had been used to it, were only permitted when not at work, when out of society, and at a distance of ten miles from any inhabited place, and even then only once a day. One witness was enough, and every conviction, to which the constables were urged most strictly, cost 6*d*.

The churches of Connecticut were not disturbed by heresies like those of Massachusetts. We hear nothing of antinomistic influence, which would have been as strongly contrasted here as elsewhere. For Hooker, their spiritual leader, hated Anna Hutchinson to a very unchristian degree, for having called his doctrines unsound. But with all this, a liberal party had here, as at

Newhaven, sprung up in the church itself. It demanded universal admission to baptism and communion, 1654 and grave dissensions and collisions arose, into which the churches of Massachusetts and Plymouth were gradually drawn. The government of Connecticut sought in vain to soothe these disputes, and proposed a general council of mediation, which, after being strongly 1657 opposed, was finally carried. But its decisions were as little acknowledged as those of the council held 1659 two years later in Hartford. The councils had decided for extension of the church by baptism alone, and a later synod, held in Boston, confirmed this. It was not enough for some, and too much for 1662 others. The mass of the members of the church, who did not wish to lose this kind of aristocratic privilege, set themselves even more resolutely than the clergy against admitting, without farther examination, *all those who did not give offence by a vicious life*. Peace and unanimity were at last restored by the going away of a good many, especially of a part of the community of Wethersfield, to Hadley, in Massachusetts, and by the death of some heads of the party.

These discords, called, in the church history of the time, the Hartford Controversies, had shaken every church in New England. "From the fire of the altar," says Cotton Mather, their spiritual historian, "went forth thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, and which shook the colony;" and where he, a theologian, versed in all the scholastic subtleties and hair-splittings of the following generation adds, in spite of the seventeen subjects of dispute mentioned in the acts, "it was difficult to find out what the real points in dispute were," our time, two hundred years in advance, and fixed on greater



things, must renounce all claim to a clear knowledge of them. How narrowly in this, church matters had interwoven themselves with worldly matters, may be gathered from the definition of congregationalism by the clergyman Stone: "Congregationalism is," he says, "a speaking aristocracy in face of a silent democracy."

The planters of Newhaven had to battle with the same difficulties against the French and Dutch. They saw themselves continually hindered by the latter from extending themselves. They were treated as intruders, while again all the English were so convinced of their good and sole right to all North America, that they would not concede the most trifling advantages to the Dutch. Their claim was founded partly on the right claimed by the King, while they were so willing to deny his real rights to the loyalty and obedience of his born subjects, partly on the fact that possession had first been taken by the colonists of Plymouth.

For before this the Dutch had trading houses on the Hudson, but had first, in 1623, began to colonize Manhattan. They had from the very beginning sought and maintained friendly relations with the men of Plymouth, whereupon one of the early historians of New England remarks, they wanted to purchase the birth-right of the Plymouthers with a dish of pottage. They had also always been good neighbours to Massachusetts, but they regarded as irrevocably theirs Connecticut and the Hudson, with the fine broad stretch of land which lies between them and the new colonists, who cultivated with unwearied activity, and constantly approached nearer, necessarily met with a very harsh reception. The settlers of Newhaven had to suffer for this even

more than they of Connecticut, who could extend towards the north and east, and so avoid these dangerous neighbours. In 1648, the Dutch took away one of their ships lying in the harbour. In Long Island they saw themselves injured; from Delaware they were driven away, and even the treaty of 1650 scarcely gave them any security.

They also suffered continually from the incursions of the Indians, although they practised the greatest moderation towards them, and did not take possession of one foot of land which they had not procured by honest purchase. The archives of the colonies are full of directions for the colonists to secure themselves against the hostilities of the savages; like the settlers of Connecticut, they had during divine service armed guards, both near and at a distance. Every man was strictly ordered not to come without being fully armed to the meeting-house, which they had built in the very first year, and provided with a watch-tower; for the Indians preferred, for their plundering and murdering attacks, the sabbath, when they knew that the houses were unprotected, and when they thought men were not prepared for them. It gives a horrible idea of that time when we stumble on an order in the archives, commanding the entrances and back seats to be kept clear of women and children, that the men may, in case of a sudden attack of the barbarians, be able without hindrance to seize the weapons set there, and rush upon their foes.

In the same way did they see themselves deceived in their hopes of preponderating commercial advantages, and impoverished instead of being enriched. Before they had been seven years in their new home, they

began to lay down plans for a change of abode. Jamaica and Ireland were proposed, but they could not agree: 1646 times grew better, and they remained. Caton, 1647 their governor, together with Hopkins, a merchant by trade and the richest man among them, who might have hoped to have made the most with his capital, set an example of self-denial. He began to devote himself to cultivation, and the other followed.

In the interior reigned perfect peace. Before the Hartford controversies there were no sects at all: they rivalled the other colonies in their care for the instruction of youth, nay, they set an honourable ambition in surpassing them, and thereby nearly overstepped their powers. A school was legally founded in every town: six years after their first settlement, there were already eight schools. In Newhaven there was a colonial school, in which the classical languages were taught, and of which Davenport was for a long time principal. In 1654 the idea was broached of making a college of this; to which they are said to have been especially incited by the prosperity of Harvard College; but it remained a school, and the university which afterwards arose there was built on another foundation.

In England the settlers of Newhaven have acquired with posterity, even more than their puritanical brethren, the reputation of a narrow-minded, gloomy severity, and the notorious "blue laws" of Connecticut have been ascribed to them; in fact, however, we scarcely know a point in which their principles surpass those of Massachusetts in severity and intolerance, nor those of Connecticut in narrow restriction. Their law-book was certainly that of the Israelites, but necessity made them

add others here and there, and at length they adopted a complete code, which their respected governor and chief judge, Theophilus Caton, had composed.

1655 This book of laws, which was not introduced till it had been examined and approved by all the clergymen of the colony, was very little different from those of the other colonies ; but they were particularly severe in the execution of the laws, thoroughly impartial, and inexorably strict. This might in part be owing to the personal character of the chief judge, governor Caton, the terror of evil-doers, but was principally attributable to their having no jury ; for though, in absolute state constitutions, or monarchies in general, the judicial sentence by juries sets a salutary check on arbitrary power, and gives due weight to the voice of the people, so, on the other hand, with the narrowed power of the government in democracies, the powerful influence of human passions and prejudices, which juries can never escape, is with right to be feared.

Of all the colonies of the puritans, that of Newhaven appears to be the only one in which the people trusted, without the least jealousy, all their rights to keepers named by themselves. In all church matters Davenport's word was law. When, on a Sunday morning, he let fall, in one of his discourses, a remark that it was fitting the assembly should hear the text, as being words of the holy Scriptures, standing, from that day all arose reverently, as soon as he began to read the words of the text. Neither among the eight clergymen who came to Quinipiack at the same time as he, nor among the numerous preachers who, during his life, one after the other, served as pastors of souls to the neighbouring

colony, was there one who could match him in genius, determination of character, and ambition. He and Caton, the trusty friend of his youth, have often been compared to Moses and Aaron, and both were doubtless pleased to see themselves in a mirror, which reflected back on them divine honours; but the picture is so far incomplete, that there the lawgiver consecrated the priest, but here the priest consecrated the lawgiver. In Massachusetts, as in Connecticut, the church was formally under the law of the state, and she principally maintained her overpowering influence by the decided churchliness of individuals who wielded this law; but in Newhaven, in a community of saints, who looked with the firmest trust in God to the coming again of the Messiah, and prepared themselves in all ways against this event, the church must be mistress; the law her willing servant. When at last the Hartford controversies sprung a large breach in the iron wall which secured them against all innovators, and when the so-called half-covenant threatened to let many intruders into the church, which Davenport wished to reserve solely for the elect; when at last the republic founded by him went down in the union with Connecticut, moulded by the hand of the king into one constitution, which, however liberal, had not been projected by him,—he, with deeply-injured feelings, preferred rather to die among strangers, than among pupils who had grown up out of his leading-strings. After working and creating for thirty years, and being seventy years old, he, in passionate excitement, quitted the colony he had founded, against the urgent wish of his com- 1667  
munity, obedient to a call from Boston, sent by a church

rent with schism ; a step which was the signal for the party that feared him to break loose. Here he died within a few years, without ever having acquired any-  
 1670 thing of that influence which he enjoyed in the  
 1657 home he had given up.

He was long preceded by his friend Caton, who had restlessly worked in the same spirit. The particularly hard, severe impress which the Puritans gave to Christianity, has, during the whole history of their labours, given to their champions a character of Roman greatness. Winthrop tells us of a pious clergyman, who, out of duty and conscience, had pointed out to the authorities some seditious speeches which his son privately let fall against them ;\* and in another place, of an unnatural father, one of the government officials of Newhaven, who joined in the sentence which condemned his own daughter to be publicly whipped.† Such cruelty shocked the more humane of them. But in Theophilus Caton we see a milder picture of pure Roman nature, obedient to the impulse of Christianity and modern times. According to the testimony of his contemporaries, a complete stoic, Christian calmness was united to the most severe civic virtue, and an amiable, careful, patriarchal character. His exterior alone inspired reverence. His wife, the daughter of a bishop, through her passionate temperament, which made her forget her duties as daughter-in-law and step-mother in the most scandalous manner, but especially by her inclination to the heresy of the Anabaptists, fell under the avenging sword of the church. The violence of her

\* The government, however, was humane enough to ask the father to produce other witnesses. Winthrop, i. 133.

† The same, ii 95.

expressions was such, that in the present day any court would ascribe them to partial insanity, and one of her daughters by her first husband fell, soon after being married, into complete derangement. The contemporaries of the unhappy woman, who had in various ways made herself much hated, saw in her one deceived by the evil spirit. After she had been repeatedly summoned to do penance, she was solemnly excommunicated by the church, without her husband, who doubtless considered the punishment to be just, holding up his finger against it. But he still lived on friendly terms with her, and in his will left her particular marks of his affection in addition to her dower. In the same spirit he, instead of punishing him at home, accused in court, out of respect to the law, his own negro slave of having been seen drunk. He submitted with the most undaunted courage to a very painful operation. "You," said he to the surgeon, "are charged by the Lord to do it, and I to suffer it." "Many a one," he was wont to say, "considers it something great to die well, but I hold it to be greater to live well." When his eldest son, the hope of his age, lay on his deathbed, he went—it was Sabbath—morning and evening to the house of God, though he could not expect to find him living at his return. When he went to his daughter, who was bathed in tears, he told her to think on the sixth commandment, and not injure herself by immoderate grief. It was afternoon service, and the first prayer had not been commenced, when a messenger came to prevent the preacher praying for the sick man, who was now dead. But the father remained immovable, made notes as usual during the sermon, and at his return home

held family devotion as he always did. At the burial he thanked his friends around in the most collected manner, using the words, "the Lord has given and the Lord has taken away." It was only when he withdrew to the room where his daughter lay ill, that she saw the tears, and heard him say at the same time, in excuse, that there was a difference between an unfeeling stupidity under the hand of God, and a childish submission to it.

1658 For eighteen years—he died in the nineteenth—his fellow citizens committed to him, with the most complete confidence, the leading of their affairs as well as the sword of justice, and in none of the colonies reigned so complete a harmony between the government and the governed, which without doubt was owing to Cotton's unquestioned justice and unselfishness ; in fact, in none of them was harmony more necessary, for it was the only one whose members could neither support themselves on a bought privilege, nor on a document of possession derived from royal favour, and there can be no doubt that the acknowledgment of their independence by the other colonies, as well as by Cromwell, was in direct contradiction to the rights of England over these lands, which was all they had to oppose to the detested Dutch ; for, according to their own theory, they believed that by purchase they had only acquired possession from the Indians, not the right of having their own jurisdiction. When accordingly, in the wondrous change of things, England recalled her legal king, what could the settlers expect but that he should ignore the legal existence of a state not based on English rights, and moreover in opposition both to the laws of state and the political views then current ?



## CHAPTER XIX.

## CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS.

IN all the charters and privileges granted by the kings of England, for the south as for the north, the conversion of the Indians was held forth as one of the principal motives for settling, and the extension of the gospel was made the highest duty of the planters. Even in the reasons which decided Robinson's community in exchanging their scarce-won home for the wilderness, the wish to proffer the word of God to the heathen takes an important place. But, in spite of all this, years passed away before they could think about taking a step towards the accomplishment of this great object.

Their zeal for the conversion of the heathen naturally appeared slight in England, when compared with that of the French priests and jesuits in Canada and the southern half of the New World, who, often in a much smaller space of time, assembled whole legions at their feet, and, by baptism and impressing the sign of the cross, initiated them into the covenant of the only saving church. An Ave Maria, a brace of paternosters on the rosary, and the Christian was made. But we know also how different were the demands which the puritans made upon a Christian, and how cautious and conscientious they were about admitting the unregenerated into the covenant of baptism. They would, consequently, never have thought of beginning their attempts at conversion

except by the circumstantial teaching of Christian dogmas; but to this was requisite a knowledge of the Indian language, and this again required time. The settlers of Plymouth were so severely proved in their earliest years by distress of all kinds, that all their time was taken up in satisfying the most urgent necessities of body and soul. Moreover, they were, as we have seen, a long time without clergymen, and subject to constant change. But yet they never lost sight of this part of the service of their heavenly master; and, poor as they were in means, one of their upright representatives, Edward Winslow, has the chief merit of having put in motion, in England, the Society for Promoting the Gospel, which was incorporated in 1649. We shall afterwards revert to it.

It might, on the other hand, well excite the astonishment and displeasure of the pious in England, that the government of Massachusetts and her influential elders had, for a long series of years, left a point totally unnoticed which was inculcated in their charter, and on which, according to their own conviction, the salvation of so many thousands depended. The Indians themselves, now that the Christianity was to be forced on them which the whites had not taught them to love, asked why the latter had been silent about it twenty-six years, when the matter was so weighty that their salvation depended upon it? It is certain, however, that the subject had lain heavy on the hearts of many in the colony. Among the Indians who lived in the English families freely as servants, or had been made prisoners of war, and who were without exception well treated, there were many who had become acquainted with the chief truths of the

Christian religion, and particularly impressed by the moral part of it. Sagamore John, one of the chiefs whom the English found in Massachusetts, was wont to praise in broken English the god of the English, and when dying resigned his son to the care of Pastor Wilson, with the request to teach him to know this god. Among the Pequodees, also, was a chief called Wabash, who eagerly hearkened to their doctrines. But it is doubtful if they did not worship merely the *more mighty* God of the Christian ; and even when, during the devastating attacks of the small-pox, many Christians, especially Maverick and his people, lavished on them the love of the Samaritans, we do not find that this outpouring of pure Christianity had won any more of the young to the divine doctrines. As regards the government, it contented itself with attaching to it those Indians who had submitted, by impressing on them the ten commandments, the observance of which was strictly inculcated. The following questions, which were laid before the chiefs Pomham and Sachomeco, and the answers of the Indians, are characteristic of their mode of conversation, and the dignified demeanour of the latter. The officials charged to take the oath from them, asked—

1. Will ye adore the true God, who hath made heaven and earth, and not blaspheme him ?

A. We wish to speak with reverence of the God of the English, and to say nothing ill of him, because we see that the God of the Englishman cares more for him than the god of others does for his people.

2. Ye shall not swear falsely.

A. We have never known what swearing or an oath is.

3. On the Sabbath ye shall do no work not absolutely necessary within the range of any town.

*A.* It is a little matter for us to let all work alone on this day, for we have on no day much to do, and thus on this day we can easily leave it all.

4. Ye shall honour your parents and those set over you.

*A.* It is our custom so to do, and for the inferior to be submissive; and when we complain to the governor of Massachusetts that wrong is done us, and he says we lie, we will bear it cheerfully.

5. Ye shall slay no man except on good grounds and just authority.

*A.* It is good, and we wish it so.

6, 7. Ye shall not commit adultery, &c.; nor debauchery, &c.; ye shall not steal, &c.

*A.* Although adultery and debauchery are committed among us, yet we do not allow them, and regard them as evils. Even so stealing.\*

8. Ye shall not lie.

*A.* It is an evil, and we do not allow it.

9. Will ye allow your children to learn to read the word of God, and to acquire knowledge of the true God, and how they shall worship him after his will?

*A.* When an opportunity offers, and the English come among us, we wish to learn their manners.†

\* Yet these very chiefs who answered in such a worthy manner were accused by Warwick of this vice. According to Richard Houlden's account, they stole into the houses, broke open the boxes, &c. Pomham was caught attempting to escape by the chimney. Mass. Hist. Col. xxi. 10.

† Winthrop, ii. 121. Benedict Arnold was interpreter. He was one of Roger Williams's earliest companions, and was, with his wife, one of the few who could speak the Indian language.

Of all the English clergy who came to New England, Roger Williams was the only one who, from the very beginning, zealously occupied himself in learning the Indian language,\* and in this he no doubt had principally in view the conversion of the Indians. He preached repeatedly among them; nay, years after he had, from a better knowledge of their character, given up all hope of ever seeing the work blessed, he journeyed regularly every month to the Narragansetts, because he was the only person they liked to hear; not because he had succeeded in infusing into them the slightest interest for Christianity, but only because they loved and honoured him as a good and wise man. The chiefs of the Narragansetts, first Canonicus and Miantonomo, and then Pes-sacus and Canonchet, were all hostile to the Christian doctrine. They tolerated only Williams, whom they often visited in order to enjoy his conversation; but to him even they only listened more for the sake of disputing than of being converted. They hearkened applaudingly to his account of the creation, of the immortality of the soul, of the temptations of the latter; but when it came to the resurrection of the flesh, they cried with one voice, "That we will never believe!"

Roger Williams, however, was not the narrow-minded man to give up all hopes of their conversion on account of differences as to a single article of belief. His hopes principally foundered on the vices of the natives, which he found the more deeply rooted the more he came to know them. There can, in fact, be no worse testimony

\* According to Gookin, Elliot learnt the Indian language only a short time before he began the work of conversion. He was thus ten or twelve years in the country before he earnestly embraced the idea.

against the Indians than that of a man who, like Williams, understood their language, knew their manners and prejudices, lay under obligations to their hospitality, wished for their welfare, and was loved and honoured by them; he may be said to be free from partiality. In his first writing on them he says, much to their praise, they had received as a friend the banished fugitive, they had shown him personally nothing but love; how could he fail to acknowledge the value of such friends in the hour of need? But the longer he lived among them the more unfavourable did his opinion become; the more he learnt to know them, the more did he turn against them, and we must believe him when he abuses them as avaricious, greedy of revenge, deceitful, and lying.\*

The turn was not yet come of that false philosophy, which declared the man of nature to be more innocent and better than the civilized man, and imputed to Christianity itself the shadows which the frailty of the human race had, in the course of centuries, thrown on its divine light. As yet nothing was known in England of the noble savages and the tender Hurons; nothing of their pure belief in the great spirit, their manners without guile and their unwavering fidelity; phantasms created by the crooked theories of the eighteenth century. The planters of New England saw, on the contrary, in the clearest light the advantages which they enjoyed from the culture of Christianity; the best of them looked on the savages as objects of compassion; the others regarded them as a brood of Satan, devoted to perdition in order to make room for the people

\* His opinion, it is true, only changed after the influence of wine and, still more, of brandy had corrupted them.

of God. According to the old theory of the peopling of America, which towards the close of the eighteenth century was declared to be the most probable that had ever been promulgated, it was declared that the devil, when hurled from his throne by God, had flown thither, having persuaded some witches to accompany him and serve him in his concealment (God probably knowing as much as we of the western hemisphere before the discoveries of Columbus), and that their descendants were found here by the English. They accordingly declared them to be worshippers of the devil, and their pawanurs or conjurors to be his acknowledged priests. The earliest accounts and the diaries of the settlers are full of the most adventurous tales as proofs of this Satan's service. At all events, the Indians believed that the good spirit, whom they without exception place with a bad spirit, and believe to be mightier than him, had less need of their homage than the other whom they therefore hoped to propitiate: their idea of a good spirit is pure enough to make it desirable that their insipid ghost nonsense and endless tricks should have as little to do with it as possible. Among the first comers, Edward Winslow and Roger Williams, who had both made themselves more or less acquainted with them, and had used their clear vision and sound sense, have given us the most complete report of the Indians.

In fact, the natives of the woods of New England seem on the arrival of the whites to have been on the lowest step of culture, and to have stood much below the races of Virginia and Carolina. Like them they knew nothing of iron, and the greatest simplicity was observable in their weapons and house furniture; but

while Pawhatan was invested with a sort of splendour and superfluity, want and famine reigned among the others, and the guests of Massasaets were in danger of starving of hunger, whilst those surrounding him told pompous stories of his power. The earlier writers do not know how to say enough about their dirt, rapacity, and disgusting manners. True, some pleasing apparitions tower forth amidst this darkness. Miantonomo is described as a well-built man, of excellent appearance; and Wincumwane, the wife of a Pequodee chief, won the thanks and respect of the English by the magnanimity with which she received the captive English women, and by her dignified and chaste behaviour. But these exceptions are rare, and the bulk of the Indians with whom the first planters came in contact appear false, treacherous, and cruel; without true courage and worthy of detestation, to judge by their outward features and manners. Their valour has nothing chivalrous; their jealousy of one another makes them tools of the hated stranger, wherewith to undermine their vice; even their generosity is not void of selfishness—for the giver expects a double return. Among the virtues peculiar to them, hospitality stands high; it is the natural fruit of their manner of thinking and living, and they are in that not superior to other barbarous races. But out of this darkness one thing shines forth with wonderful brightness; it is their domestic virtue. They treat their wives like serf-girls, often like beasts of burthen, but their honour is sacred. In all the horrors of the bloodiest wars with the English, ill usage of women was never heard of; when they had once escaped the tomahawk, they had nothing to fear beyond slavery. Before this



feature was known to Europeans, and shortly before the Pequodee war, two young maidens were carried away from Saybrook by the Indians, and great anxiety was suffered on their account. Ransomed by the governor of New Netherlands, they related that they had been well treated, but had been assailed by questions, "whether they did not know how to make powder?"

Strikingly different is the irritable and bitter tone with which the second and third generations of historians, the Mathers, Hubbards, and Mortons, speak of the Indians, compared with the more moderate and worthy language of the first writers, the Winslows, Winthrops, Williams', &c. The young colonies of New England, says Cotton Mather, were compelled to strangle these snakes while yet in the cradle; and in another place he says, the plague carried off nine out of ten, nay, according to some, nineteen out of twenty, so that the woods were almost cleared of these deadly creatures to make way for a better seed. The horrible joy with which the same clergyman and the above-mentioned writers of the second generation relate the burning and drowning of the Pequodees, by Mason and Houghton, cruel executions as they were, makes the blood run cold in the veins of a humane reader; but they were in their eyes merely offerings due to the honour of the true God. Much less of this spirit is to be found, as we have said, in contemporary reports. The English long flattered themselves when near the natives, or when commanding them and leading them on to culture, that they would be able to gain possession in peace of the land which they never doubted God had assigned to them. It was only after the war with King Philip, during which all the barbarous cruelty

of the natives unloaded itself in the violent outbreaks of a long suppressed rage, that their contempt changed into wrathful, retributive hate.

The Indian races inhabiting the regions in which the two first generations of planters settled all belonged to one and the same people. We have already mentioned their different branches; but here, for the sake of being intelligible, we will again give a brief view of the tribes of New England. In the south-east, hard by the coast where the planters of Plymouth had settled, dwelt the Pokanokets, of whom one part, residing in the west of the district, now Bristol, were called Wamponogets; their chief was Massasoit or Usamakin, who at the same time stood at the head of the whole tribe. It is uncertain whether the inhabitants of the islands and of the point which forms the bay of Cape Cod, among whom the Nausets are particularly mentioned, belonged to them or only paid them tribute. Shortly before the arrival of the whites, a pestilence had unpeopled the country and broken the power of the people. According to the report of some old men, they were at that time able to bring three thousand men into the field. There lived in hostility with their neighbours on the west, the Narragansetts, who dwelt by the bay bearing their name on the present Rhode Island and the neighbouring islands. They were not only the fabricators among the Indians, and skilled in making pots, pipes, and such things which they sold to the others, but they were especially the trading race, rich, and possessed of most wampum. According to their own account, they could once bring into the field five thousand men. Although unwavering in their mistrust and hate of the whites, yet the latter

were not treated by any race so reasonably and courteously as by them. In their country, which had not suffered from the plague, and which was so thickly peopled and cultivated, that a man could not travel twenty miles without coming upon a dozen larger or smaller towns, an Englishman could journey in safety; and so late as 1654, Roger Williams could say of them, that they had never stained their hands with a drop of English blood. Much more warlike than they, were their western neighbours, the Pequodees, on the south-west shores of the Connecticut, whom we have seen so ruthlessly extirpated at the time of their greatest power. They also were said to be capable of placing five thousand warriors in the field, but these figures are little to be relied on. On both sides of the northern Connecticut, and towards the Hudson, dwelt the Mohicans, who seem to have belonged to the same race, but to have been isolated. North of the Pokanokets and Narragansetts, the Massachusetts Indians had their seat; but they had suffered a like fate with the first, and the few thin ranks remaining of them could only offer the whites submission or powerless hate. The same may be said of the Pawtuckets, who dwelt north of these on the Merrimack, and in the south of New Hampshire; they were called also the Abergines. Each tribe had several branches.

All these tribes spoke different dialects of the same language. They could understand one another, though with difficulty, and were distinguished by a remarkable inability to pronounce the *r* and *l*. North-west of Connecticut, but nearer the Hudson, dwelt the Mohawks or Mayricas, who belonged to another higher-endowed race; they could pronounce these letters clear

and sharp, and spoke altogether a different idiom. At the beginning of the colonization of Massachusetts a people often broke in thither from the north; they were called Tarratiness, and were said to be known to the French as the Abenakis. They had learnt the use of fire-arms from them, and were the terror of the other Indians: their home was Maine, and they are described by the English as wild and warlike, but by the French as friendly and docile; but the tribes on the Hudson and those of Long Island, who seem to have been nearly related to the Mohicans, always gave the Dutch settlers enough to do.

When we cast a glance at the numerous races which, two hundred years ago, ranged the woods in untamed wildness, and spread terror on every side, where now a foreign race has raised thousands and thousands of thriving towns and villages, in which, though rarely seen, we here and there find traces of the once possessors of these lands in the shape of a miserable, despised, wandering horde, supporting bare existence by wearing blankets;—when we cast a glance at these enormous transitions, we are no longer surprised at the pride with which the first English planters considered themselves to be the chosen people of God, to whom these beings, rejected by him, must give place. At the lapse of fifty years not a tenth part remained of those whom they had found there, without the sword having perhaps carried off the hundredth part; it seemed as if the breath of the white was poison to the red man: wherever he settled, the natives all around withdrew. At the end of the century there was only one dark man left to twenty whites, though no particular illness had

ever raged there, nor any particular war been directed against these Indians. From many places they withdrew towards the west, after having sold their lands to the whites, only to see the enterprizing and detested stranger pressing on after them with restless energy, he whose hate the unhappy men could not escape. Everywhere, even when in a kind of stupid devotion they had adopted Christendom, they resolutely set themselves against the culture and the ennobling influence of civilized life; and still the traveller often sees, in the western states of the union, on the lands conceded to them by treaty, their filthy huts in the midst of thriving villages, the sight of which never excites them to imitation; alone in the cultivation of their fields have they learnt anything from the whites, for double gain is the only thing that can in any way rouse them to exertion.

The first who really made the conversion of the Indians the object of his heart, nay, of his life, was John Elliot, preacher in Roxburgh, whom the history of that time has indicated by the name of the apostle of the Indians. It was probably at his impulsion that the government of Massachusetts issued the first order by which it recommended the Christian instruction of the Indians, and besought the elders to think about the best way of doing this. Some time previously Elliot had taken an old Indian into his house as servant, from whom he diligently learned the Massachusetts tongue. According to the testimony of his contemporaries, he made himself master of it in an incredibly short time, and, as it were, by inspiration. An occasional intercourse with the Indians was maintained, till he considered himself fit to begin the mission systematically.

On his first visit to two Indian villages, not far from Roxburgh and Dorchester, he contented himself with giving those who had assembled in a very short time and with great eagerness, a commentary on the ten commandments, and only historically portraying the history of creation and revelation. When he had concluded he called on them all to put questions concerning what they had not understood; a plan which he afterwards continued during his regular preaching and catechizing, and here there was no want of questions: the first were such as inquisitive children would put, as whether Jesus Christ understood Indian? how it happened that the water did not overflow the land if greater than it? and what could it avail to the children of bad parents to be themselves good? and what use could it be to seek Jesus, when it is written that “the Lord will visit the sins of the parents on the children, to the third and fourth generations?”

Others presumed that the sagacious learned man, who knew so much, must know everything, and took advantage of the opportunity to satisfy a long-cherished curiosity about things which seemed totally irrelevant; as, for instance, asking how it happened that sea-water was salt and river water fresh? &c.

Of still more subtle character were some questions, after long instruction had in some degree taught them to think for themselves, and many a preacher must have got into confusion,—“How could it be sin in Judas to betray the Lord when it had been so ordained by God, and he must therefore do it? and again, it is said, we can ourselves do nothing for our salvation, and yet in your text it is said, ‘save yourselves from this obstinate

generation:’ how, then, can these two be reconciled? When they die who have never known Christ, do they go to hell? Why did God give man so bad a heart? If God is almighty, why does he not slay the devil, who makes the heart of man so bad; and if a man be wise and his chief weak, must he still obey him?”

The good man answered the childish and the thoughtful questions with the same friendly patience, and won and fettered to him the young especially, by affability and all sorts of little gifts, as an apple, a morsel of cake, a toy, &c.; so that his visit soon became a day of festivity, not only for them, but also for the old, and a relief to the *ennui* which presses, especially during winter, on the vacant mind of the Indian. After a short time, he extended his visits to a distant region. In most parts the chiefs were decidedly opposed to him, nay, their anger exposed him to the greatest dangers; but some, especially those about Concord, north-west of Boston, supported him, and pledged themselves and theirs to keep the ten commandments, and some other laws against drunkenness and debauchery. Two little catechisms composed by Elliot, one for old age and one for youth, were at first the only books of instruction. At every visit he left behind some questions to be answered at his return two weeks after; thus during the week he travelled from place to place, through all the difficulties and dangers attendant on journeys through a wild and pathless land, while on Sundays he fulfilled the duties of his office in Roxburgh—for his colleague, Welde, had left him in 1641, in order, with Hugo Peters, to serve as political agent to the colonies; and even now, when his business had long been ended, could not tear himself

away from the flesh-pots of England ; Elliot had thus to fill in his own community the double office of teacher and pastor : luckily he was in the bloom of manhood, for he was forty-two when he began the work.

He went to work with not less judgment than zeal and faith. Far removed from believing that ignorance is the mother of devotion, as the missionaries of the Romish church had so often been reproached with doing, his principle was that the Indians must become men, that is, must be civilized before they could become Christians. Instruction of their youth in reading and writing, and, of those able to work, in cultivation of the land and the trades most useful to society, must go hand-in-hand with instruction in Christianity. In order to effect this, he received from the government a seemingly piece of land, on the south bank of the Charles River, not far from the places in which he principally taught. Hither he drew many Indians out of the neighbourhood, whom he had won over to Christianity or to rural and civic order. A village was laid out in regular streets and places, provided with a fort and surrounded by a stone wall. A well-got-up house was soon erected which served for divine service and instruction, and contained a modest sleeping-room for the honoured bringer of "the pious message," when the half-monthly visit brought him thither. Besides this, only very few houses were erected in the European style, for the Indians continued to inhabit their wigwams, which can be set up without trouble, as they only consisted of skins or blankets stretched on poles, and can be broken up in a minute when the vermin in them become too much for the tenants. This place is called Natick ; it was



the first establishment of the "praying Indians," as they were called, in New England, and always remained their head place and the seat of their highest authority, as also of the English higher court, under which, for the sake of order, the Christian Indians of Massachusetts were ranged.

The inhabitants of Natick had scarcely fixed themselves when their spiritual pastor gave them, at their own request, a constitution, which, according to the taste of the day, was borrowed in all its purity from Moses (book ii. chapter xviii. verse 25). He went to such an extent in this approximating to the Jewish forms, that he again introduced tithes for the support of their leaders and elders, although this kind of tax was detested by the puritans as popish, and they had completely abolished it. Similar arrangements were introduced in other villages of the praying Indians, of which there were in a few years seven in Massachusetts. 1651

In 1660, there were ten; in 1675, at the outbreak of the war with King Philip, who industriously and for ever destroyed all the results of the labour expended in introducing culture among the unhappy natives, there were fourteen. But many of these places did not contain more than eight to ten families, that is, scarcely half an hundred inhabitants, for Indian families are scarcely ever numerous. The total number of the praying Indians, shortly before the outbreak of the war, or about thirty years after the first attempts at their conversion, may be given at eleven hundred souls.

All these celebrated the Sabbath, and held not only on this day a regular service, with prayer, hymn, and sermon, but also, on every week day, family devotion

morning and evening ; they knew how to answer with exactness the questions of the catechism, and were better instructed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity than many a European Christian. The German protestant accordingly, would thus have held them, after receiving baptism, well capable of being received into the community of the Christian church. But he knows also, that among the puritans an especial covenant of the saints was necessary for this, and that a Christian church could only be founded by a community of the regenerate and elect. To this degree of sanctity, that is, to the most complete self-denial and submission to the yoke of Christ, so few of the praying Indians of Massachusetts arrived, that in the fourteen villages there were only two real churches—one at Natick, the other at Kassanimisco. The first with about fifty communicants, the second about twenty, and about double the number baptized. The reader will remember that in the puritan churches only the children of church members could be baptized, or, after 1660, such as had a particular desire.

With all this distinguished result, John Elliot had had little help from the English colonists. Whether or not it was the great difficulty of learning the language, or the complete want of pecuniary support, which restricted the Indian missionary solely to his own means, enough, that among the clergy of Massachusetts the excellent man did not find a single helper, except his own sons, two of whom, instructed from their youth in the language, lent him as preachers valuable aid. Daniel Gookin afforded him assistance of another kind ; for, after 1656, he acted as chief instructor to the praying

Indians, travelled about with Elliot, showing real unselfishness and zeal, interested himself in their worldly as in their spiritual affairs, and educated one of his sons to be Elliot's successor.

The latter seems to have felt from the very first that it was particularly necessary to educate teachers among the Indians themselves; and he, in fact, succeeded in this in so short a time, and in so marvellous a degree, that the fact offers a striking proof against the oft-asserted incapacity for cultivation of the Indians: but to found schools and seminaries for instruction demanded money; the colonists themselves were poor, and really showed but little zeal in this matter. Help must therefore come from the mother country; and Winslow, who was at this very time in England, was the right man to make a stir about this matter. By a formal act of parliament, a society was incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel, which brought together considerable sums, and was, after the restoration, 1649 greatly favoured by Charles II. Out of its monies many schools were erected among the Indians, and many able young men among them received a learned theological education at the college of Cambridge. Many of them, who gave fair promise, were, in the bloom of youth, carried off by consumption, a disease which frequently occurs among the Indians, even in their savage state. The teachers of these fourteen villages were all educated at these schools. Among them were many Sachems' sons, who were thus at the same time their civic superiors. Few of them read or spoke English, and we cannot regard it as a sign of a very sound understanding in Elliot to look upon this as a very secondary matter.

On the other hand, he had been early careful to procure them a knowledge of the Scriptures, in their own language, a work of love to which we shall shortly revert.

One can easily conceive that he did not mean to restrict himself to the Massachusetts Indians, in the dissemination of the gospel. But Massasoit, or Ulamakin, as he is always called in latter life, steadily refused to give his consent to preaching ; the chiefs of the Narragansetts rejected with scorn every attempt ; nay, when the government of Massachusetts mixed itself up with the affair, they commissioned their friend Roger Williams, who was going to England, to complain there about this government, which wished to make them pray.

Williams, in a letter to them, appeals to Crom-  
1654 well as one who detested religious coercion, and to the words of the deceased Winthrop, "Let civility be the leading step to Christianity."

Just as little encouragement did Christianity receive from Uncas, the friend of the whites, who did every thing to impede Elliot. He came to the boundaries of Connecticut, nay, travelled Hartford, to complain to the general assembly of this intrusion. In the meantime, a clergyman of the name of Pierson, in the south of Connecticut, had, unknown to any one, learned the language, and made all sorts of attempts to no purpose, till he went to New Jersey. A neighbour of his named Titch, who began to preach among the Mohicans, seemed to have better success. Yet still it went on slowly. On the other hand, the Indians of Plymouth showed themselves more willing, for Elliot had found a worthy successor in the clergyman Richard Bourne ; he travelled about with unabated activity,

founded schools and preached, and had such success, that he alone, in a part of the colony to which he extended his labours, could, in 1664, count one hundred and fifty persons able to read Indian, though scarcely ten could read English. Four years previous he had contrived to found a church. With him worked, in other districts of the colony, John Cotton the younger, who was himself a preacher in Plymouth, and his son, direct descendants of the renowned hierarch. Shortly before the outbreak of the war with King Philip, who was the younger son of Massasoit, they flattered themselves with the discovery of some inclination, on the part of this shrewd chief, to Christianity. In 1685, there were in this colony alone one thousand four hundred and thirty grown-up Indian Christians, and more than three times as many children under twelve years, so that one can calculate that by far the greater number of the Indian inhabitants of this depopulated region belonged to them.

By far the best soil for the divine doctrines was the two little islands called by the English Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, now sparingly inhabited by fishermen, but at that time thickly peopled with Indians, who also supported themselves by fishing. On the large and more fertile of these islands, Martha's Vineyard, had settled about the year 1642, an English merchant of the name of Thomas Mayhew, who had been unfortunate in business in Massachusetts, and after having sold all, wished to begin a new life here, as the first white man who had ever inhabited it. He soon drew to him a little colony on this uninviting island, of which he was named governor by the Earl of Stirling, for the islands

were included in none of the New England patents, and the nobleman who had received one for Long Island and the neighbouring islands laid claim to all those between Cape Cod and the Hudson. Mayhew's son, who had been educated as a theologian, had accompanied him thither. These two true Christians made the civilization and conversion of two islands confided to them the object of their life. The Indians there were, from the nature of the country, not hunters and nomads: compelled as fishers to endurance and a sedentary life, perhaps also less warlike than those of the firm land because they were protected by their position, they seem to have soon entered into a sort of patriarchal relation to the eminent whites who strove after their weal, which relation lasted through the whole life of the elder Mayhew. A native of the name of

1657 Hiacoomes was the principal assistant. After the younger Mayhew perished by shipwreck on a voyage to England, his two sons were the stay of the grandfather; these islands were also in the mean time objects of especial interest to the missionaries of the colony of Plymouth, and especially of Elliot, who from time to time preached here. In 1659 a church covenant was concluded, out of which arose, soon after, a second church in Martha's Vineyard. On the first island alone there were ten Indian teachers, and every Sunday divine service was held in six meeting houses. All the head men acknowledged christianity. In Nantucket there were three hundred christian families, and in proportion in the small islands scattered between them. This was the only spot of New England, perhaps of all America, where the European appeared in the light of a benefactor

scattering blessings. But even on this soil, on which flourishes the most powerful race, physically speaking, of the States native race, was doomed to a decay no human power could stop. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there were five hundred grown persons in Nantucket; in the middle of the preceding, three hundred and sixty; and at the beginning of the present there remained of these, four men and sixteen women.

If any of our readers have thought us too circumstantial in our report of the condition of the Indians, which seems to have passed away too traceless to belong to history, we may cite in excuse, that we thought by a simple representation of the astounding facts which have occurred to a few individuals, in the short space of a quarter of a century, to be best able to refute the unworthy assertion, that the Indians are incapable of civilization, an assertion which the eighteenth century generated, and which posterity willingly repeats. It is certain, that after Elliot's time, up to a very recent date, no earnest attempt has ever been made to ameliorate them. The degenerate race, sunk almost to the state of animals, scattered over the eastern lands, can offer no hope of this; but the yet numerous tribes of the west, wild and rude, though certainly corrupted and narrowed by the influence of selfish, chaffering, or overbearing whites, but still not brutalized, offer to the missionaries of the Christian world a boundless field, pregnant with blessing, wherein to exercise the strength of their love.

Elliot was destined to survive the smart of seeing the partial destruction of the work which he had built up with such pious faith. He died eighty years old, till death amiable and active, twenty-seven years after

he had finished his translation of the Bible into the Massachusetts tongue, by which he set the seal on the introduction of the Christian doctrines among the heathen. The New Testament was just finished, when Charles II. again mounted the throne of his fathers. Elliot sent over to him this document of his Christian zeal; and it is certain that Charles, flattered with the idea of being the first Christian king under whom such a work had been carried out for the benefit of the heathen, could not have been decided so much in favour of the Puritans by any thing else. Elated by this, he confirmed and supported the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which, having arisen under Cromwell's auspices, had its most bitter opponents in those nearest the king, and seemed to be near its fall.

John Elliot left behind him another monument of his knowledge of the Indian language, in a grammar, which is yet prized as a highly instructive document of an almost obliterated people. Of his English writings we cannot speak here; they were only of value for the time, and, like his sermons, were quite inartificial, and only calculated for the moment. Warm-hearted, forcible, often prolix, but still free from the darling faults of the time—far-fetched antithesis, crooked puns, and tricked-out phrases. As a man, he was amiable in the highest degree, altogether free from harm and envy, and alike

1631      overflowing with goodness and generosity. He was twenty-seven years old when he first entered the land of promise, to which he wished to devote all the powers of his life. His betrothed, an excellent lady, who trod with him the long path of life almost to its close, followed him soon after, and was his truest aid.



Luckily she also possessed the virtue of being an excellent housewife, and with a scanty salary knew how to carry on decently her simple household, and to spare enough to give four sons a learned education. Without having made any vow, he lived as abstemiously as a hermit. A leather girdle held together a coarse woollen garment, more than one dish never came to his table, never any other drink than water; when at another person's house a glass of wine was offered, he civilly declined it. Without condemning others, he was wont to say, "Wine is a precious, noble thing, and we should thank the Lord for it; but to suit me aright, water should rather be there."

With such a simple way of living, it was possible for him to be the benefactor of the poor, especially of the poor Indians; and although the society of England yearly allowed him £50 for this, yet this did not by any means suffice for the wants of his heart, and he was wont to add a great deal from his own pocket. Some pleasing anecdotes of his benevolence have been preserved, quite characteristic of the man. He was wont, when he received his quarterly salary from the master of the treasury, to give a considerable part of it away again before he reached home, so that his wife only received a sum insufficient for housekeeping. The master, who knew that great embarrassments often arose from this, once said to him in jest, when paying him, "Now really this time, reverend sir, you must give it all to your worthy spouse!" and, in order to to prevent any expenditure on the way, tied it up in a pocket handkerchief, in so many knots that only a woman's patience could have unfastened it. Before he reached home

Elliot bethought him of an unlucky family who waited for his consolation, and here he found unexpected distress. He forthwith attempted to open his handkerchief; but he worked long, and the knots seemed impossible to untie. "Well, well," he said at last, "I see it is the will of the Lord that you have the whole!" which he therewith gave them, and returned home with empty hands.

When he was old and weak, and could not pray any longer, he wished, for the benefit of a young, excellent colleague he had with him, to take no salary; but the community, who loved and honoured him, remained this time more steadfast than he, and paid him his full salary till death. "Ah!" he used to say, "I have lost all. My understanding is leaving me, my memory fails, but, God be thanked, love still abides!"

Where there is so much light, we can well bear some shadow. His strange rage against wigs and tobacco has been mentioned; luxury in clothing he also considered to be sinful, and did not scruple to rebuke young people very sharply about it. His displeasure at the fanatical conceit of Mrs. Hutchinson placed him in an unworthy position, who, confronting single-handed a host of clerical opponents, appears almost in a state of transfiguration. His good, clear understanding firmly rejected the claim of individual inspiration among the moderns, and he declared so invincibly before the court, "There is an expectation of promised things, but of especial revelation about things that shall come, of this nothing is mentioned in Scripture;" that Winthrop, although a determined foe to all phantasies, said, frightened, "We will not set bounds to the word of God."

As a politician he appears, from the very beginning weak and void of character; ever democratic and intractable, like any radical of the new school, but immediately after just as ready to see the matter in another light. Thus he was once summoned before the court, because, in a sermon, he had blamed the government for having closed a treaty with the Pequodees without the consent of the people. He probably had some fitting passage of the Bible ready to back himself, but a conference with Cotton, Hooker, and Wilde, 1634 who doubtless had other passages of an opposite meaning, brought him at once to another view, and he declared himself willing to recant from the pulpit next Sabbath.

After a long series of years, the demagogic spirit played the good man one more evil trick. A short time before or after the execution of Charles, he wrote a book called the "Christian Republic," in which he declared himself decidedly against monarchy, and indeed apparently against all hereditary dignities, and justified the revolution and its founders. This book was printed in England at a time when the opinions promulgated in it had many followers. Meanwhile the year 1660 approached, which brought back Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, and the government of Massachusetts saw that from this quarter a storm would break upon them, if they did not return betimes to the other path. Elliot's book, now all at once said to contain seditious principles, contrary to all established order, was the first victim to their altered policy. After a conference with the elders, he eluded punishment by a formal recantation, in which he declared his book to be an injury to the king's majesty, set forth his repentance

therefore, and admitted every form of government to be right which could be derived from the Holy Scriptures. His confession of sin was publicly set up in all the townships of the colony, and every existing copy of this condemned book called in by government. So weak did this good man show himself in worldly wisdom—he who was so strong in love, so timid in a field where he felt himself a stranger and intruder, while in his true calling he confronted with bold brow and undaunted heart the manifold dangers of the fury occasioned among the Indians by his attempts at conversion.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE COLONISTS IN RELATION TO THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC.—INCORPORATION OF MAINE.—THE QUAKERS.—GENERAL MATTERS.—FROM 1649 TO 1660.

ON the 29th of January, 1649, the head of the unhappy Charles rolled on the scaffold. Cromwell, with knavish and overbearing rudeness, dabbed in the face of his secretary the pen with which he had just signed the death-warrant of his lord, and strengthened himself to this deed by morning devotion ! The question as to whether Cromwell was a hypocrite or fanatic has often been mooted. Perhaps he was both. It is well known that on his death-bed he asked a clerical friend if he who had once possessed divine grace could again lose it ; and on the answer "No," joyfully exclaimed, "Then is my salvation assured, for I know of a truth that at one period of my life I was really in grace !"

There is, singularly enough, not a writing extant to show us the impression which the news of the king's execution produced in New England. All who considered the monarch guilty did not on that account acknowledge the tribunal before which he stood. Not every one who despised his weakness, hated his falseness, and wished to restrain his power, could convince himself that he, *by being King of England*, could have forfeited the right which belongs to the lowest Englishman of being tried by his equals. Some of the colonists perhaps shared

these opinions. Virginia, it is known, declared decidedly against the usurper; but the power which the greatest men had shown to Cromwell, the exact relation in which they stood to him, and later, on the fatherly reception and active protection which the regicides enjoyed there, all seem to show that they approved a deed which only brought them advantages though they had taken no part in it.

No action is so dark that the actors in it cannot be justified by the representation that they are God's selected tools. The respectability of the colonies rose considerably in the mother country. During the republican rule Cromwell was the first of the "might-givers" of England who acknowledged the importance of the colonies to the republicans. Moreover, in his strong puritanism he was, according to their conviction, the true promoter of the heavenly kingdom on earth, the selected instrument of God, destined to complete the purification of the church for which they had so long battled in vain. His battles were the battles of the Lord, and he, on the other hand, seems to have felt a sort of gratitude for the confidence and respect they showed him. When his murderous bigotry had conquered and in part depopulated Ireland, he urged them on to take possession of it, and sow there the pure seed of the Lord. He also invited them to Jamaica when this became the booty of his victories; but the temptations of a tropic climate and luxuriant soil rather frightened than attracted the iron men of Massachusetts, and, moreover, the land for which they had fought hard had grown dear to them. The Protector was the friend of many of the most influential among them; he recognized them as that for which they

had given themselves out to be, the people of God, the community of the holy, the salt of the earth. He favoured their wishes, honoured their rights, and rebuked their numerous accusers; and, however he might be looked upon by the Stuarts and the English people, the colonists of New England might well love and honour him as their friend and benefactor.

Since the opening of the long parliament, that is, since the forming of the royal and episcopal power, they had advanced with giant steps towards a condition of independence which seemed scarcely reconcileable with the natural position of the colonies towards the mother country, but during the republic this condition became one of almost entire independence. They defended their rights against the parliament and the Protector with the same jealous watchfulness with which they had opposed the king. Wisely mistrusting an uncertain future, they protested against a renewal of their patent by parliament, and just as decisively refused to conduct justice in the name of this body as they had to do it in the name of the king. When, in a proclamation of the English government referring to the colonies in general, the naming of governors and commissioners for the American colonies was discussed, they showed very evidently how sensitive they were at seeing themselves thus treated just like the others,\* while their case was very different, and they were entitled by their charter to govern themselves in a land which they had chosen for the sake of faith, and by their own free will, with the expenditure of all their powers, and without costing the mother coun-

\* "We finding ourselves comprehended as wrapped in one bundle with the other colonies," is the expression.

try any thing, and which they had changed into a blooming wilderness from a desert land, and where they had converted the heathen, and since its differences with the king had begun, had always assisted parliament with prayers, fasts, or festivals of thanksgiving, after every victory, &c.; as also by sending useful men while the other colonies had risen against it, and hence were at enmity with them. This address is composed in a higher tone than they had ever ventured to use towards the kingly government; it is the language of a smaller auxiliary body no longer that of subjects; but the effect it produced justified them, for none of these proposals were ever repeated.

1652 It was a decisive step towards setting themselves up as a self-existing body, when they erected a mint, and without having, like Virginia, an authorisation in their charter, began to stamp their own money. The trade of Massachusetts had certainly greatly increased, especially with West India, and raw metals were frequently brought thither in exchange for corn, beef, pork, boards, spars, fish, and beaver. Besides this, too, light gold was often brought by the Spaniards, which occasioned serious loss, and they accordingly resolved on melting this up again to prevent confusion. Moreover, embarrassment had often arisen from the want of ready money, and besides corn and furs, which were fixed by the government as payment, musket balls had to be taken for farthings; a fixed value was also soon attached to the wampum, the Indian substitute for money, and it was received as a circulating medium. They now no longer hesitated to coin shillings in addition to the other small coins. These coins, some



of which are still extant, as historical antiquities, were stamped with a pine tree, which we must suppose to be the tree of liberty, and the word Massachusetts, or, as it was then written, Massathusetts; the smaller pieces with only New England, or N. E., and the date 1652. For although they continued for thirty years to exercise this arrogated right, they were yet cautious enough to use a date when England had no king.\* This money never attained its full value as a medium of payment except in the colonies of New England; in the London market, as elsewhere, it was reckoned at three-fourths of its value, in spite of the care expended on keeping it pure, and the legislature accordingly soon forbade its exportation. 1654

Neither Cromwell nor parliament took any notice of this irregularity. To Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova Scotia, and friend of Massachusetts, Charles II. spoke with displeasure of the usurpations of the colony, and particularly of their coining. Temple sought to defend them on the score that they had only done so for their own use, and showed the king one of the shillings,—“What means the tree?” asked the king; “It means the the royal oak,” replied Temple, “which sheltered your majesty!” This sufficiently suitable answer seems to have pleased the king, but he still often complained of the colony; its overstepping its due rights, and its ingratitude and encroachments on his royal prerogatives. They were also questioned on this 1661

\* The author of the article “Correction of Errors in Hutchinson,” says this is incorrect, having seen two penny pieces dated 1662. Felt, also, in his “Massachusetts Currency,” says nothing of this precaution, and in one of his plates shows a two-penny piece with the date 1662. All the shillings which remain, however, seem to have the date of 1652.

point by the royal commissioners, but no distinct command ever came to stop them, and they accordingly did not hesitate to continue a regulation which had proved itself so useful and convenient, that in the end even the royal governor proposed to keep it up. But when the abuse had been endured twenty-six years, and their charter taken from them, their mint stood also on the list of transgressions and offences by which they were declared unworthy of their privileges.

In the mean time they looked about every where, determined to fix immovably the boundaries, and extend by the freest interpretation possible of their charter. They showed the most care in drawing the boundary line on the Plymouth side, and the definitions of the boundary of this colony came so in collision with theirs, that if they had insisted on what was conceded to them by the words "three miles south of the Charles River in its most southerly direction," and had from thence drawn a line to the sea, a part of the first settlement of Plymouth would have fallen to Massachusetts.

About this matter they had continual strife with Connecticut, but the weaker could only silently succumb. New dissensions were occasioned by the claims of both colonies to the land of the Pequodees, which seemed to belong to Connecticut by nature as by right of conquest, but which Massachusetts, on account of its position on

the towns, would not give up.\* A colony erected  
1649 in (the now) Sconington, by William Cheeseborough of Rehoboth, took on its form of constitution and government till it should be decided whether it be-

\* It has been mentioned that after the Pequodees were defeated their domains were promised to Uncas. This, however, only referred to the lands, not to the government or jurisdiction of them.

longed to Massachusetts or Connecticut. At last the commissioners of the united colonies who were named umpires fixed the boundaries at the Mystic, but some years after the matter was again debated and the treaty had to be formally renewed. 1658

The settlers of Massachusetts had procured themselves from parliament an authorization to govern the land of the Narragansetts, upon which they, years after, formed endless encroachments on the rights of Rhode Island, and even permitted their subjects to make illegal purchases there. There was not one of the New England colonies that did not believe it had cause to complain of the arrogance and avarice of Massachusetts. The coldness with which it saw the injuries received by Connecticut from the Dutch and French has been already mentioned.

Massachusetts would have been able to develop itself peaceably towards the interior, for its charter had accorded it the Still Sea as its western boundary; and although here also enterprising cultivators pressed on by degrees, they could have planted and built far to the west of Springfield, till they came to the Hudson, which the Dutch regarded as their property, but the inland did not offer the advantages of the littoral districts; they resolved, therefore, rather to take advantage of the equivoques of their charter, and push on towards the north. New Hampshire was their property, Maine must become so, for this province was in the part included by the line drawn east to west three miles north of the Merrimack.

Maine, in spite of its enormous extent, only a separate state since 1820, can boast of having yielded to

Britons the first dwelling in New England. From the date of this unlucky enterprize till 1623, we hear of no further attempt at settlement; the history of the different presents and purchases of lands between the Penobscot and Piscataqua till 1639 is a complete chaos, which may be interesting to the topographer and local historian, but which offers no results of importance for the general history of the colonization of New England. Even in the names, there reigns an incredible confusion. In what is now Maine, we find a part of Acadia, Kennebeck, Sagadahok, Somersetshire, Laconia, Lygonia, and finally Maine again;\* this last in opposition, together with many islands on which were fishing stations, to the "Main" or firmland. Under some of these names the whole is often to be understood, and occasionally very full descriptions of the many different possessions, based on vague ideas, give no clue, for they constantly clash with, and in some degree contradict one another; and as they brought little profit, and were consequently cheap, they were sold and resold, sometimes whole, sometimes in parcels. A rude climate and unfruitful soil, thick woodlands and hostile natives, could but little attract to efforts at colonization. For barter and fishing, all that this land seemed to have to offer, did not require the expenses of a formal settlement. Along the coast, some huts for fishers and hunters, some dwelling houses for the factors of the proprietors of the traffic, and here and there a fort to protect them against the attacks of the savages or hostile French, were enough.

But out of groups of such huts, mostly erected on the mouths of the noble rivers, and frequently round

\* The Indians called that part of the country Mavooshen.

such forts, had arisen of themselves, within the space of sixteen years, Pemaquid (now Bristol), Newcastle on the Sheepscot, numerous dispersed settlements on the Kennebeck, Casco (later Falmouth, from which Portland separated) on the Bay of Casco ; Saco (now Biddeford) and Wells, together with other plantations on Cape Porpoise, out of which arose Arundel ; also York, named at its founding Agnamenticus, then Georgiana ; lastly, Kittery, which up to 1656 bore the name of Piscataqua, from its position on the east shore of this river. Besides these, there was here and there a smaller erection, as on Cape Elizabeth, where from a few huts on Black Point, and some others on Blue Point, Scarborough at last arose. The most of these places were supported by fishing and trading in fur and timber, the preparing of which gave them enough to do. A single attempt at farming by a society in England, 1630 called the Plough Company or the Husbandmen, to cultivate the Bay of Casco, broke down completely, and a number of adventurers who were sent thither, and, according to Winthrop, consisted mostly of Familists, were laughed at, discouraged by the elder adventurers, and betook themselves next year to Massachusetts, where they broke up.

In the mean time, the men of Plymouth had 1626 erected a trading house on the Penobscot, and 1632 some years after made a similar attempt on the Machias. But here, as well as in the other place, they were chased away by the French, and their people ill-used, nay slain. For the French, who laid claim to the land as far as the Kennebeck, wished at least to maintain themselves on the Penobscot, and had by a number of small settlements

taken possession of the seaboard between this mighty stream and St. Croix, which belonged to Acadia. A

1628 third attempt of the Plymouthers on the Kennebeck succeeded better. Nay, in the patent given them next year, the Kennebeck and a district of

1630 fifteen miles broad on both shores were included :

it gave them a complete right of government and jurisdiction, and they did not delay taking advantage of it. The few settlers there were made to swear allegiance, a fort was erected on the west side of the estuary, hard by the sea, where two of the government assistants, as stewards of it, took up their abode, and held a regular court, from which appeal could be made to the higher power of the general assembly. Kennebeck was governed as a colony or province of Plymouth. It was here that they came into that strife with the Lords Say and Brooke, in which one of their

1634 party and the leader of the other were slain—a mishap which occasioned excessive dismay, precisely because it was feared that by disorders of this kind they would hurry on the hated appointment of a governor-general from England.

In the following year, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was really nominated at his own wish to this dignity, and an annihilating storm seemed to gather over Massachusetts. The ship which was to bear him to his new realm broke in twain as it was launched from the slip ; but the frantic old man, whose head had been filled from youth upwards with adventurous plans, which every where made the first undertakers of American colonization dream of gold mines and diamond pits, did not on that account lose courage. He was himself, as he relates,

the real originator of the project by which the members of the society of Plymouth hoped to indemnify themselves, when they found it necessary to give up their patent to the king. North America was, as we have seen, divided, from Maryland to St. Croix, into twelve provinces, by the possession of which the patentees were to be indemnified after they had already placed in their pocket all the purchase money for a considerable portion of the lands. To Sir Ferdinando Gorges was allotted one half of the present Maine, that is, the stretch of land between the Kennebeck and the Piscataqua, and he even obtained a letter of possession for this from the society before it was dissolved, to confirm which the king, who wished to make a splendid 1635 acknowledgment of his devotion, added, some years after, a charter which put him in unrestricted possession, and gave him princely rights. The land was transferred to him under the title of the "Province of Maine," as it was then said out of gallantry to the queen, whose dowry was the revenue of the Duchy of Maine, though the land had been long previously so called, but it was the cause of this name being chosen out of the many names then current, and its being established.

Before this, Sir Ferdinando Gorges had sent his nephew, Sir William Gorges, to rule the land which he called New Somerset, and a kind of government was established in Saco. But at the end of the second year he returned home without having done anything, and heartily sick of the thankless trouble. Sir Ferdinando, hostile to their principles, had ever worked against the men of Massachusetts, and was, even now, bent on legally plundering them, for he had the confidence, and

1637 the fact evidences his respect for them, to send full power to sixteen of them to govern and administer his land, a distinction which was, however, declined. After which, the regions left to themselves soon sunk into a state of complete anarchy.

The charter received by the king's favour aroused the adventurous old man to new plans and greater activity. A splendid constitution, with counsellors and deputies, towns, market towns and villages all created on paper. Another cousin, Thomas Gorges, the third relation sent to America, was despatched as governor. Agamenticus, a contemptible little town, with not quite three hundred inhabitants, and the largest in Maine, was the chief town; a mayor and eight aldermen were elected, and the place was christened Georgiana. Thomas Gorges was a well-meaning and expert young man, who did his best to check the anarchy which had crept in by the contemptible Burdett, who, after having been driven away from Piscataqua, had pitched his tent here, and seized on the rudder; but as means were totally wanting, he could do little. Although his uncle had, during the forty years his American chimeras lasted, expended £20,000 on the possessions, he found nothing for his property but interminable stretches of waste land, and the poor furniture of some miserable huts. "All demolished," as he said to a friend after his return, "except an old pot and a pair of tongs." He accordingly soon

1643 returned.

Meanwhile his uncle's star had set in England, and the parliament had already sold to one of its members (Rigby) part of his lands, viz Lygonia, the district for which the "Plough patent" had been drawn out. Cleaves,



the plenipotentiary sent out by Rigby, soon got into a quarrel with the agent of the knight, who was  
1644 still there. He in vain demanded assistance from Massachusetts; they wisely declined all interference; but the other party also appealed to their decision, and the affair was laid before their tribunal; but the genuine papers were missing, mere copies could not be considered valid, and in the mean time they counselled waiting and keeping peace. Rigby's possession was, as might be expected, acknowledged by parliament;  
1646 more than half of his possessions were taken from Gorges, the true servant of the king. All ties were broken up, Gorges was taken prisoner, and at last died, and his heirs were never heard of. In the mean time, experience had helped the colonists out of leading-strings; the places not included in Lygonia, Piscataqua, Georgiana and Wells joined together, constituted themselves, and out of the counsellors named by Gorges selected as governor one Edmund Godfrey, a sensible and moderate man, attached to the king and church of England, and who administered his office many years, without gainsaying from another party.

But the period was come which seemed most favourable to the claims of Massachusetts. The province of Maine was apparently divided into two parts, but really into a hundred. Besides the political struggles between the royalists and republicans, countless contests about the badly-secured right of possession, and other personal rights, agitated the people. Many inhabitants of Lygonia had a part of their lands in the west; the inhabitants of this a part of theirs in Lygonia. Many favourable to the king had been obliged to submit to the rule

ordered by the parliament; many a puritanical republican chafed under the yoke of an episcopal-minded government. The administration was insecure and unskilfully conducted, and in both lands laws were created by the same body, the members of which sat in court and carried out the laws. Criminal and civil causes were confusedly mixed with one another, and in the acts were indicated, on the same piece, a law encouraging wolf-hunts, and a command to have children baptised; universal discontent reigned, and the desire for a better regulated state of matters was general.

In the general Court of Boston the great charter of the Bay of Massachusetts was unrolled, and the contents were carefully weighed; there then stood clearly worded that their northern boundary should be three miles north of the Merrimak, in its most northerly direction; but where was the most northern point in the course of this river? The Indians maintained that the Merrimak arose from the north-western *embouchure* of the Winipesogee Sea.\* Three miles on yon side brought them to  $43^{\circ} 43' 12''$  latitude, and exactly in this latitude lay an island in the Bay of Casco, three English miles from Portland; a line drawn from it to the source of the river brought nearly all New Hampshire, all Lygonia, and the greater part of the remaining Maine within their patent. If they had at that time known the source of the Merrimak, which is much further north, they would have been able to comprise more than half of the present state of that name.

1652

Hereupon a commission was sent out, at the head of which was Broadstreet, to declare the

\* In the present New Hampshire.

resolution of the general assembly, to take possession of the lands, and demand the oath of the new subjects. A writing informed Godfrey and his counsellors, who protested decisively against it : already, when they saw the storm approaching them, they had turned to parliament for confirmation of the constitution, but Massachusetts stood too high with those in power for any good to result from this step, and the divisions among the people assisted. Kittery submitted first, though not without bargaining half a year, half willing and half forced by threats ; Georgiana followed, and, last of all, Wells. Property was secured, and protection 1653 promised to the episcopal church, and every honest man made a freeman, without asking whether he was a churchman or not ; Georgiana was called York, and the whole land was made a district of Massachusetts, under the name of Yorkshire ; justice and order entered into everything ; the majority declared themselves satisfied, but in the hearts of the old opponents of Massachusetts rankled hate and bitterness.

To turn upon Lygonia seemed scarcely prudent, as, only five years before, a government, confirmed by parliament, had been settled there ; but here also reigned a most flagitious disorder ; Rigby being dead, and his son without influence or power, could only threaten from a distance : moreover, there were many puritanical planters who were more devoted than opposed to the interests of the government of Massachusetts. Many of them, and even such as had possessions in the subjected lands, but dwelt in Saco and Cape Porpoise, had met at Wells and sworn the freeman's 1653 oath. Their example, the urging of the commissioners

of Massachusetts, the breaking-up of all other ties of justice, at length brought down one place after another to submit, but years passed away before this submission was complete and general.

That the settlements of Maine could, in the long run, only gain by satisfying the lust of sway of a well-regulated state—for they acquired all the rights of citizens, and by their deputies participated in the government\*—cannot excuse the despotism and injustice of the proceeding, which the hypocrisy and “heavenly obscurity,” wherewith they extolled themselves as God’s appointed tools, made doubly hateful: so long as they did not think it safe, there was no mention made of their claims to the north line. In 1639, when the disorders in Piscataqua made them think of incorporating these districts into their territory, they had sent towards the north to explore the source of the Merrimak: what they knew of it must have been communicated to them then. In spite of this, they did not allow anything to be noticed in their behaviour to Thomas Gorges, when they feasted him on his journey through Boston, and he, in his inexperience, asked for their advice; and, again, they did not mention their claims when the agents of Rigby and Gorges stood before their tribunal. It was only when the disorders which had got footing promised some result for their claims, that they suddenly advanced, and by their determined tyranny, their sly obstinacy, and vaunts of Cromwell’s favour, succeeded in gaining a considerable district, without troops or regular coercion;

\* Maine was incorporated with Massachusetts, as its fifth county, under the name of Yorkshire.

by the extension of which, however, they, with their thin population, only gained more in splendour than in might.

We have already mentioned how Massachusetts acted, at the same period, with the same selfishness, towards the sister colonies; on the other hand, they attained their aim of existing against outward enemies, as a respected and self-dependent power. The Dutch spared and flattered them, while they revenged themselves in every way, on the other colonies, for the injuries received from Massachusetts. At the request of the governor of Arcadia they had already concluded a treaty of peace with him, and they even sent deputies to the governor of Canada, to bring about a similar contract, in cases where the mother countries should be involved in war; but they would by no means consent to the condition which the others wished to attach—that of lending one another aid against the Indians; and little resulted from this transaction; but more important than all the respect of the outlanders, was the unshakeable and favourable opinion of their powerful friend the Protector. The complaints their enemies raised against them were numerous; and Leveret, their agent in England, after the death of Winslow, would have had a hard task to protect them against the united grievances from Rhode Island, Rigby, Godfrey, and Gorges, if the friendship of the judge had not stood them in good stead.

It is an oft-repeated remark—and in itself right—that feelings, which under oppression and opposition become intense passions, acquire a milder character when favoured, even if they do not entirely fade. History corroborates the truth of this view with cases of

religious enthusiasm, which from persecution became dark and fanatical puritanism alone, which had always seemed, in some degree, moderate when opposed, showed more morose and gloomy the more unchecked it reigned; perhaps because it was not a fantasy of the heart, but a moodiness of the spirit; being rather a narrowness than an extravagance of the mind. The puritans of Massachusetts relentlessly used their triumph. The first fifty months of the second half of the seventeenth century saw, stroke after stroke, the heads of the first generation perish off:—all valuable, distinguished men, cut by the sharp chisel of nature, and seldom found elsewhere in such number and in so small a space. Winthrop had gone first; Cotton followed in 1652; the year after, Dudley; then, year after year, Haynes, Winslow, and Standish. The year 1659 demanded, from the first distinguished founders of the colony of New England, the sacrifice of three lives at once; at last Cromwell's death, the year after, seemed to put the key-stone to the triumph of Massachusetts. From this time forth they saw their decay slowly approach, which more than twenty years of struggle, could not avert.

The severe, bigotted spirit of the departed worked long after, and, perhaps, with double force; because, being pressed aside by a new age, in the very act of departure, it had held, with convulsive energy, against the milder spirit of the coming race. That it still maintained some authority over the representatives of the people of Massachusetts, showed itself, among other things, in the narrow, austere zealot, Endecott, who had till now enjoyed little popularity. Between the years

1649 and 1665 (the year before his death), he was chosen governor fifteen times, while, in the previous nineteen years, he had only enjoyed this honour once. Bellingham was mostly associated with him as deputy-governor ;—he for whom his earlier constant opposition to the measures of the government had won, from the zealous multitude, the name of “a friend.” After the death of Winslow, who always opposed him, he seems to have gained some influence; and, after that of Endecott, he stood constantly at the head of affairs.

During Endecott’s administration, the execution of a presumed witch took place ; a circumstance which made a great sensation, on account of the rank and respectable connexions of this unhappy victim of a dark superstition. Accusations of this kind were not quite new in the colony ; and we cannot be surprised that it, in common with the whole world, shared the belief in witches. Seven years before, Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, a poor old woman, one of the female quacks for the people, common to all ages, had been executed on account of the wonderful results produced by her harmless remedies, and her evil eye and touch. Even the vehement reproaches which, up to her death, she hurled at her judges, and a storm during her execution, went for proofs of her guilt. Soon after a ship, which was lying in the harbour of Boston, began, in quite calm weather, to roll and lurch in a way nobody could explain, till it was discovered that the husband of the unhappy witch wished to escape in it to Barbadoes. He was forthwith seized and thrown into prison, whereupon the ship ceased to roll !

That the people believe in such fables, we see even in

our time; but it is a genuine sign of that time, that one of the leaders of the people, an enlightened, thinking man like Winthrop, repeated this, and that three years later, a theologian so learned as Hubbard repeated it after him. In the course of the next eight years, two or three old women were hung in Massachusetts in consequence

1647 of similar accusations; a like cruel judicial murder had taken place the year before, in Connecticut, and two others followed shortly after in New Haven, where an old woman fell under suspicion of witchcraft. She had spirit enough to reverse the case, and to accuse as calumniators all her neighbours, among whom were several respectable people, so that, though twice after brought before court on account of the same suspicion, she escaped with some sharp reproofs for her mysterious conduct, and a warning to abstain from all complaints against the authorities; for, as there were no juries in New Haven, she could not be the victim of the prejudices of the people, who would have condemned her. The law of Moses, current here, which demands at least two witnesses, saved her.

The same fate fell on Anna Kibbins, a widow of one of the assistants, and sister of Bellingham, of whom it does not appear that he made the slightest attempt to save her. Her husband, once a wealthy merchant, had some time before lost his property by mishaps, which made the naturally irritable and moody temper of the poor woman still more bitter and quarrelsome, and occasioned, on her part, a behaviour which several times drew down on her open reproof, and then rejection from the church, and at last made her so detested by her neighbours, that they accused her of witchcraft. The



jury (to which, very likely, some of the said neighbours belonged) at once pronounced her guilty; but the judges hesitated, the matter came before the general court, when, from the great number of deputies, the opinion of the people preponderated, and the poor woman fell a victim. Norton, Cotton's successor, who had in vain taken great trouble to rescue her, maintained that the principal evidence against her went to prove that she was wiser than her neighbours, as she had unluckily guessed that two of her persecutors, whom she saw talking together in the street, were speaking of her. In vain were all her chests and boxes examined, for pictures, talismans, and other magic tools, in vain was her body searched, to discover those stains which passed current at that time for the never-failing marks of an old witch, nothing was found; but still the old woman was hanged, such being the sovereign pleasure of the people, which is rarely more than the dim feeling of an ignorant mass moved by passion.

The victims of this sad error were only few previous to the outbreak of the strange frenzy which concluded the century; bloodier traces were left behind by the spirit of religious persecution, which about the same time broke out against the new sect, the quakers. The zeal for preserving the purity of their doctrines, had for some time made the holders of power repeatedly depart from their maxim of holding church and state separate, and attack with despotism and law those liberties which they had once claimed for themselves. It was more natural when they sought to counteract the breaking in errors of the baptists, whom they detested. These, like the antinomists, had the same principles as the puritans,

nay, the principles of protestantism generally, only somewhat farther worked out. But the English baptists, a harmless, peaceable sect, must not be confounded with the German anabaptists, who at their first appearance threatened to set the world in flames. In truth, what the puritans detested and punished in them, was less principles subversive of civic order, than a departure

from their own principles. A law which sent  
1614 into banishment those who openly condemn the baptism of children, or speak against it, or designedly quit the house of God during the administration of this sacrament, and do not allow themselves to be instructed in a better, calls them incendiaries of the state, destroyers of the churches, seducers of men, &c. The first baptist church was founded by Clarke, in Rhode Island; but the attempt to spread his doctrines further turned out badly; for once, when on a visit at Lynn, in Massachusetts, he undertook to teach and baptize, he was seized and imprisoned till he paid a sum of money as a fine, while his companion, Holmes, who steadily refused to pay the £30 fine imposed on him, was publicly whipped.

The parliament, under the protection of which the baptists had already erected some churches, was much displeased with this law, and Winslow considered it worth his while openly to defend New England against the bad impression which it had made, and stated in defence that the law was issued more to frighten than to punish, and that individual examples of toleration towards baptist principles occurred. But in the meantime, a man who, although his wife belonged to the orthodox church, would not let his wife be baptized in

it—or rather, as it was given out, on account of the contemptuous speeches which he had made against the baptism of children—was whipped ; and a lady of rank, Lady Deborah Moody, who lived in Salem, and is described by Winthrop as a “ woman, from youth upwards, religious and wise,” was, for seeming inclined to baptism, excommunicated by the church of Salem, after she had, in order to avoid any further annoyance, gone over to the Dutch territory.

Under these circumstances, it cannot appear surprising that the planters had, even among their contemporaries in England, acquired the reputation of being persecutors, and men lusting after sway ; and that among their friends and earlier comrades so many had turned away from them ; as, for instance, Hugo Peters, who had experienced their severity towards his own wife, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, a man like Roger Williams in liberality of sentiment, and who, in a letter to Winslow and Cotton, made them the most urgent representations to abandon their severity and persecutions. “ First,” says he, “ ye compel those of whom you know that they cannot unite with you, to come into your assembly ; and when they show their displeasure or complain of you, then you spur on your authorities to punish them for what you call public injuries ! Truly, friends, this your way of compelling others to a kind of divine service, of the rightness of which they are convinced, is to make them sinful ; for so says the apostle, in Romans xiv. 23, ‘ and many are made hypocrites out of fear of punishment.’ ” \* We hoped ye would be the

\* Cotton, however, was wont to say, “ Better hypocrites, and deaf ears, than thorns and thistles ;” and in another part, “ Better hypocrites than

eyes of God's people, and not pursue the same conduct in the wilderness from which ye are fled so far ; but these ways have lowered you too much in the hearts of the holy."

If their own friends condemned them thus, what could they expect from political and religious opponents, when the changing vane of the times again gave the helm into their hands?

1652 The beginning of the second half of the century brought forth in England that strange sect which, at their first appearance, at once threw themselves in the way of persecution, and violently urged on their way to martyrdom, equally dishonouring to the sacrifice and the victim. Some seductive books of the quakers, John Reeves and Louis Muggleton, "the two last witnesses of the prophets and Jesus Christ," as

1654 they called themselves, had, after some years, made their way to America, and were called in by the authorities, under a penalty of £10 for each book kept back ; with what result is not known—certainly on one appeared to defend them. Two years later, the quakers came in two ships, following one another very closely ; they were eleven in number, nothing but wandering preachers, of whom two were women from Barbadoes, the others came fresh from England. In the open streets, before the people as before the court, they loudly announced their divine mission ; and when questioned here as to the proofs of their calling, they declared, after a short silence, that the same call had gone forth to them

profane men ; hypocrites yield God of that which belongs to him, at least the outer man, but the profane yield him neither the outer nor the inner."

which had ordered Abraham to depart from his country. The other questions of the authorities they treated abruptly and contemptuously, which may in some measure palliate their being thrown into prison. Their books, numerous copies of which they had brought with them, were taken away and burnt by the hand of the executioner. Entreaties and representations were tried by the governor and some clergymen, but were answered by revilings. Until the ship which had brought them over was ready to sail, they were kept in close custody, and the captain was bound, under a penalty of £500, to take them with him. One of the first who arrived, a maiden called Maria Fisher, considered the martyrdom she had undergone by no means brilliant enough ; so soon as she reached England, she at once set off for Adrianople, in order to announce to the Grand Sultan her errand of salvation. The Turks stared at her, as crazy or inspired, which with the Mahomedan means the same thing, and she went through their wild troops uninjured, nay, not even laughed at.

The quakers were at their very first appearance banished from Massachusetts by virtue of the law against heretics. At the first general assembly the government attempted, by a string of laws directed 1657 against them, to prevent their return and further extension. Every master of a ship was forbidden, under a penalty of £100, to bring a quaker into the country, and had, moreover, to give security that he would take him away again, until which time the quaker was to be kept to hard work in the house of correction. Heavy fines were laid on the introduction and spreading of their writings, and the defence of their heresies. He who

received a quaker into his house had to pay 10s. for every hour his guest staid ; and when, in spite, or rather in consequence, of all this severity, the sympathy for the quakers began to spread in the colony, he who visited one of their assemblies was fined £10, and he who spoke there £5. The punishments against the quakers rose in proportion as they became bolder, and their intrusiveness grew more irresistible. Flogging, loss of an ear, and banishment, were their lot when taken for the first time ; second flogging, and loss of the other ear, for the second ; but if one of this accursed sect appeared a third time, his tongue was burnt through with a hot iron, after he had been publicly whipped from place to place. Nay, when all these barbarities failed to expel the unhappy creatures, and when they, with boundless contempt of the authorities, threw themselves in the way of persecution, death was at once set upon their return from banishment. The same punishment awaited  
1658 those in the colony who were converted to quakerdom.

Of all these features of intolerance and persecution, their proceedings against the quakers placed the government in the worst light, both with other governments and all posterity ; and precisely here does it merit some excuse, on account of the great exasperation produced by the unbearable contempt manifested by these refractory people. They had never yet punished so unwillingly as here ; and the quakers at their first appearance were not the peaceable, kind and industrious race, “ wise as serpents and gentle as doves,” into which a quarter of a century of prudent toleration converted them ; their public conduct was such that the authorities of no country could

or durst tolerate it. Full of spiritual phantasy, audaciously avowing the most profound contempt for the laws and ordinations, they at once elevated themselves to be teachers ; preached in the open streets, screaming against every existing thing, and yelling out woe to the spiritual and worldly leaders who led the people astray ; from the windows of their prisons they hurled revilings against the governor, or other authorities who happened to go by. Before court, no threat, no punishments could make them submit to the established order of things ; they answered the questions of the judge with long speeches full of reproaches or woeful cries, or, what was worse, with obdurate silence, and with their hats on. Men and women showed the same desire for martyrdom. When one of them was cited before the authorities, and a kind of legal proceedings seemed to be begun with, three or four others would at once break in and interrupt the proceedings, with revilings against the usurped authority of the judge, or with prophecies of woe which made the people around start again.

They nourished a particularly fanatical hate against the clergy, who, we must say, richly repaid it. They were, in the eyes of the quakers, nothing but hireling priests of Baal, seducers of the people, the seed of the serpent. At the divine service on Sundays, they broke into the church ; one of them, Thomas Newhouse by name, with flint-glass flasks in his hand, which he shattered against each other, with the wail, " So will the Lord break ye in pieces ! " Others came only provided with their tongues, interrupting the preacher with the cry, that his words were an abomination to the Lord, &c. In Cambridge, in Boston, men went through the streets

gnashing their teeth, announcing that the Lord was coming with fire and sword. Nay, in Salem, a quakeress, of the name of Deborah Wilson, appeared suddenly in the streets quite naked, just as nature had created her. One of her brethren said in her defence,—“When the Lord arouses one of his daughters to be a testimony of your nakedness, it must be indeed a sharp task for a modest woman, but the Lord will have obedience.” Another supported himself on the command of the Lord to Isaiah. Perhaps no sect has ever been carried away so far by frenzy.

The novelty of the thing, the endless impudence of the strange prophets, and, above all, that point of their doctrines which assumes a continued revelation of the spirit of God in an individual, thus flattering human vanity, and the phantasy of the age occupied with supernatural things, soon won for the dreaded sect the youth of New England. Compassion, also, for the over-severe treatment which they seemed to meet with co-operated, as did also the false heroism with which they were wont to shrink from no persecution. It was this sympathy which must have made them appear so very dangerous to the powers of a commonweal in which the voice of the people alone decided, they must accordingly quit the land, quit it at any price. Corporal punishment, humiliation, maiming, were of no avail, nothing could drive them away. They had scarcely been whipped over the boundaries, than they suddenly appeared on the highways, preaching, for days, revelations to a half-startled multitude, of whom one part certainly must have returned home unalterably seduced. When at last



the legislators of Massachusetts set death upon  
the return of a banished quaker, they did not 1658  
think they would ever have to put this law in force,—they  
wished more to frighten than to punish. “We would  
a thousand times rather that the absent lived, than that  
they were here and died,” says Norton the clergyman,  
one of their severest persecutors, speaking in defence  
of the measures of the government; “For the safety of  
the flock, we pen in the wolfe, but a door is left open  
by which he can flee at pleasure.” The law passed  
with difficulty. Among the communities of the united  
colonies from whom the proposal to set death upon qua-  
kerdom had just emanated, the younger Winthrop was  
the only person who spoke decidedly against it. In the  
Boston legislature the governor and nearly all the assist-  
ants were for it, but in the chamber of deputies the op-  
position was loud. At last the bloody law passed there  
also, by twelve voices against eleven; but with the pro-  
viso, that in every case a jury should decide whether the  
accused was really a quaker or not.

Four unhappy quakers were soon the victims of it.  
Among them a woman called Mary Dyer, who, as An-  
tinomist and friend of Anna Hutchinson, had been  
already banished, and now pushed her way on to mar-  
tyrdom with irresistible zeal. The judges themselves,  
however hateful she was to them, wished to spare her as  
a woman. Whilst her two companions, Robinson and  
Stephenson, were being hung, she awaited death with  
the rope round her neck; then she was set loose and  
banished from the land; but a few months after she was  
again there, to share the martyrdom of the others, which  
she attained. A fourth, a short time after, plunged into

1660 death with the same madness.\* There were many who would have fallen by this law if it had been literally carried out, but who escaped with other punishments, as corporal chastisement, hard labour, imprisonment, &c. Among those who were kept confined for some time was a girl eleven years old. How much personal favour and passions worked here is shown in the execution of Stephenson and Robinson. A worthy man offered to remove them at his own expense, and to do the same thing again if they returned. The authorities, and two or three assistants excepted, were willing to concede, but the deputies, doubtless because some of them were personally hostile to the delinquents, insisted on the execution, and their noble-minded well-wisher could not rescue them.

Public opinion was so decidedly against this proceeding of the government, particularly against hanging, that they found it necessary to justify themselves in a writing. Of course they had no lack of passages from the Old Testament. And the similar law against the jesuits in England seemed also to plead for them; and in England banishment under pain of death was a very frequent plan of terrorism. In spite of this, public opinion exerted its silent power, and the displeasure which their conduct excited in the mother country could not be indifferent to them. Wenlock Christison, a man of strong mind and indomitable resolution, was already

\* All four died with undaunted spirit, but not like Christian martyrs blessing their enemies. Stephenson cursed his judges when he heard his enemies, and old Cotton Mather who, in spite of his blind orthodoxy, certainly disapproved of their being executed, was right when he said, "They died defiant and sullen, their souls filled with anger and vengeance."

condemned to death, when he, with twenty-  
seven others, was let loose from prison. As 1660  
milder punishments were introduced, the interest in the  
quakers, as well as their rage for conversion, diminished,  
and the asylum which Rhode Island offered them made  
this colony a city of refuge for every dreamer, and, till  
the founding of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, his  
home, so soon as he became a quiet citizen. Roger Wil-  
liams, indeed, who had great influence there, hated them  
scarcely less than the government of Massachusetts,  
but he did not persecute them. He contented himself  
with letting fly his arrows, or rather his heavy artillery,  
for his attacks were sharp enough, in a polemic treatise  
against their leader, George Fox, who finally came to  
America. On the other hand, the views of the quakers  
met with approval from some men of weight in Rhode  
Island. Coddington and some others went over to  
them, and they soon saw themselves in quiet possession  
of several prayer-houses, in which they could patiently  
tarry for hours till the spirit came to them. In Con-  
necticut and Newhaven, flogging and imprisonment  
awaited them, from the very commencement, for their  
revilings. None of these colonies went farther than  
branding, by which they kept their boundaries pretty  
free from intruders.

The quakers occasioned great disturbance in Ply-  
mouth. The authorities at first attempted to combat  
them with spiritual weapons, but in the public debates  
arranged for this purpose, the orthodox unluckily found  
themselves conquered, and one or another of the van-  
quished went over convinced to the victors. And of  
these was Isaac Robinson, oldest son of John Robin-

son, a circumstance which was severely felt by still living founders of the old church. One John Morton gave the authorities much trouble ; he wrote long letters full of irritating clerical pomp to the governor, Thomas Prince, who had spoken severely to them, and had commissioned, among others, John Alden, with their management. "Thomas," he wrote, "thou liest with an evil tongue. John Alden is thy pack-horse whereon to load thy own bestial burden," &c. At last the quakers were also treated here with decided severity : but neither mildness nor severity sufficed to scare them, and even accustomed themselves to look upon them as a scourge sent by God to punish them for their sins.

## CHAPTER XXI.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY.—RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.—CHARTERS OF CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND. FROM 1659 TO 1664.

MANIFOLD was the impression which the death of the Protector made on the colonists. While Virginia eagerly seized on this opportunity of shaking off the republican yoke, and boldly declaring for the king, even before the mother country had acknowledged him, Maryland followed more slowly, and the smaller colonies of New England gladly availed themselves, as long as possible, of their obscurity, in which their opinion was not demanded; but they announced their loyalty so soon as they found it inevitable. Massachusetts wisely remained quiet, and left unanswered Richard Cromwell's summons announcing him as protector, and took care to acknowledge none of the changing 1659 authorities who immediately preceded the restoration of the house of Stuart.

The leaders of the commonweal, with Endicott and Bellingham, two decided roundheads, at their head, wished to wait cautiously and see in whose favour the scale would turn. All the news which reached them were in favour of monarchy, but man recoils from believing what he dreads. Even when, in July of the restoration year, Captain Pierce, who was friendly 1660

to them, arrived in Boston with the certain news, which had reached him on the road, that Charles was proclaimed king, and had been in London since the 29th of May, they still hoped for a change in matters. Only the great confusion which then reigned in England, the secret anxiety of the one side, and the joy of the other, can explain why no formal announcement was ever made by the mother country to the colony of the change of government, a circumstance which may excuse it for its complete inactivity in acknowledging the king.

Dread of the storm which was closing over them took away all doubt; for John Leverett, who had fought on Cromwell's side, and was now their agent in London, announced to them in the autumn that many complaints had been sent in against them from various quarters, and that all their old enemies threatened to advance. This summoned them to the defence. On the 19th of December, an extraordinary general assembly was held, and an address drawn up to the king in a very loyal tone; a petition also for retaining their rights and freedom was sent to parliament. Humble letters also with requests for their intercession were sent to great men favourable to them, especially to their old patrons Lords, Say and Manchester. Sir Thomas Temple, governor-general of New Scotland, arrogant but, at the same time their friend, was then bound for England, and became the bearer of these letters, not without leaving behind him a hope that he would intercede.

But the instructions to Leverett were drawn up in a bolder spirit; he was to risk every thing to procure an unconditional confirmation of their patent, and to free their decisions from appeals to the king, which, from the

great distance, were inadmissible, and would expose them to endless trouble ; and if he found the king and parliament favourably disposed, he was to endeavour to obtain for them a confirmation of the freedom from taxes conceded to them in 1642.

The composition of a letter to the king had been the subject of much embarrassment and manifold discussion ; a number of projects having been handed in, none of which gave satisfaction. All the clergy also, as custom had it then, were called in to council, though this time their judgment went for nothing, as the government decided on a pattern which, in regard to style, might pass muster as a fair sample of the vagaries of taste of the day, though we possess writings of that time, the chaste, sustained language of which might make them pass for models, but the crouching humility with which the petition was drawn up was then common. Many documents, mostly just defences of town or civic rights against despotic princes, are conceived in a tone which would now be called houndlike. The insipidity of expression in the petition of Massachusetts showed that there was no heart in it.

“ May it please your Majesty,” it says there, “ in the days when ye are luckily again king of your British Israel, to throw a favourable eye upon your poor Mephiboseth, who, on account of his lameness in regard to distance, has not sooner appeared in your presence ; we mean New England, which, with your other true subjects, kneels before your majesty as its restored king. We do not forget our unfitness in regard to this approach ; we confess such an *impotence* as makes us unfit to speak to excuse an *impotence* with the king our lord. But

when we reflect that such a king, who has also seen affliction that he will know the hearts of exiles, who has even been an exile, the look of your majesty *inspires* dispirited outcasts (outcasts for the truth, we hope) to lay this address before our prince, in the hope of finding favour in his sight," &c.

It proceeds in this tone, but still at intervals shows firm and decided the one legal claim for the confirmation of their freedoms and privileges, attesting that the spirit of the colonists of Massachusetts was still unbroken. A painful anxiety reigned around, reports of a forbiddal to carry on trade with the southern colonies and the islands, others of a determination to send over a general governor, kept up mistrust and fear.

1691 A short answer from the king drawn up in the most gracious style, in which he promised in definite terms for the encouragement and protection of his colonies, of which he regarded New England as the principal, not to remain behind his predecessors, excited a proportionately great joy, because men felt that they were not entitled to expect one so favourable. It was Clarendon's sound policy, and the observance of the rising importance of the colonies which prescribed this favour. A day was fixed for public thanksgiving to God, who had disposed the king's heart favourably towards them. Such was the custom on every fortunate event in New England, while again every threatening or present evil called for a day of penitential fasting, either to ward off the affliction through chastisement and repentant supplication or to dispose men's hearts to acquiesce in the will of the Lord. Perhaps none of their habits have more called forth the contempt of their



opponents in England, and the arrogant judgment of later authors on their "puritanical fanaticism," than this venerable custom.

Mr. Bancroft, in his spirited History of the United States, seeks to defend this custom in these words: "To appoint a festival was to call together all individuals of the colony, and to direct the attention of the whole people, under the sanction of the invisible presence of God, to one object; no method of spreading intelligence could equal this, which reached every man's ear." And in another place, "No better method could possibly have been thought of to waken up the attention of every one to the consideration of a subject." But here we hear the statesman more than the historian, who does not transfer the motives of his own age to the past time—to a past age, but looks at the motives current then. The fathers of Massachusetts might well eagerly employ the useful results of this fear of God, but there can be no doubt that these appointed days of penitence and thanksgiving had their origin in this fear; nay, they were actually an ingredient in their piety, which sought to win the grace of the God of the Old Testament, of the jealous Jehovah, by all outward signs of acknowledgment and submission, and were convinced that as a people united to a covenant, they had performed all the duties of reverence to God incumbent on individuals.

The government, remembering old times, and conscious their own feelings towards the house of Stuart, did not unconditionally trust the open assurances of grace. Accustomed for twenty years to regard themselves as an independent state, they now found that they would have a very different position to hold towards the mother

country, and that it was more necessary than ever to hold together. Accordingly, after the breaking up of the general assembly, a committee was appointed of twelve esteemed men, of whom four were clergymen, whose task it was to define exactly their position to England, and discuss their rights and privileges, as well as their duties to the king, and to hand in the result at the next sitting.\*

One circumstance particularly contributed to make them dread bad treatment from England. Three of the ill-advised called regicides by those who condemn their crime, and judges of the king by those who justify them, had fled to America. The same ship which brought the colonists the first intelligence of the king's being proclaimed, had on board Colonels Whalley and Goffe, who, without being more guilty than the others, had been in the act of indemnity exempted by name from the king's pardon. But this act was neither known to them nor to the colonists; the law only arrived in November of the same year. They relied on the proclamation of Breda, which pronounced general pardon, or willingly believed the report, that only the seven guiltiest of those who had signed the death-warrant of the unfortunate king would be sacrificed to the vengeance of his son, and the others be pardoned.

Whalley and Goffe, who are generally called "the colonels," in the history of that time, had both fought under Cromwell, who was cousin to the former. Both

\* The act of indemnity promised to bring no action against anyone on account of acts committed since the beginning of the civil war. But many persons were exempted by name, and it is known that revengeful acts were perpetrated on the dead.

had filled high military posts in the war, had had weight in the Commons, and gained the confidence of the Protector. Both were highly religious, in spite of their blood-guiltiness, or rather they had, by their religious craziness, drawn this blood-guiltiness upon them; for they belonged to those who had been associated with the murderers of the king—not from passion, ambition, and blind hatred of tyranny, but only by fanatical conviction that they were called upon, as the elect tools of God, to assist in wrestling for the struggling church in her purified form. They came fugitives to New England, in the fear they might be among those who were to fall victims to the manes of the slaughtered monarch. The recommendatory letters of the clergy, of whose churches they were members, and the unison of their political and religious sentiments with those of the colonists, ensured them the best reception. Governor Endicott received them with open arms, and wished that “still more such worthy men would come over.” Many people of consideration visited them, and even one Captain Crowe, a decided loyalist; which seems to prove that nothing was feared for them. They in no way concealed themselves; appeared, preached and prayed publicly, and excited general interest: feeling themselves so secure among the like-minded colonists, that they did not hesitate to declare they would act similarly, if again placed in the same position.

When at last the government was obliged to convince themselves that these two men could not hope for pardon, and that their own safety was endangered by the safety which they granted them, the others moved off at a hint, and betook themselves to Newhaven. Some

days after, came, with the news that ten of the judges had been executed, a precise command from the king to seize on the murderers without delay ; for one Captain Breedan, in Boston, who had gone to England, had spoken of their stay there : thus, nothing was left for the government of Massachusetts but to draw out a warrant of arrest, and, in order to avoid all responsibility, to commit its execution to two young merchants, known to be zealous royalists, and set them in possession of all necessary means.

In the mean time, the persecuted had found the most honourable reception in Davenport's house, and among the other authorities of Newhaven. Whalley's sister was now there, married to Hooke, the preacher, and Jones, son of one of the regicides who had just been executed in London, was married here to the daughter of governor Caton. The house of the latter served, alternately with that of Davenport, as an asylum to the fugitives. Their pursuers were soon upon their track, and the governor and officials purposely avoided all conniving at their concealment, in order to be able, with a good grace, to assert ignorance of their present sojourn ; moreover, they declared they were dubious about undertaking a search, on a command directed to the government of Massachusetts, and not to them ; but they did not forbid the commissioners to do it at their own risk. Leete, the governor, showed such lukewarmness, and so little zeal in serving the commissioners, that they bluntly asked if he would "obey the king?" to which he answered,—“We honour the king, but we have tender consciences !” and then again, “whether he would acknowledge the king?” to which he replied,—

“Before all, we should like to know if his majesty acknowledges us?”

During the sojourn of the commissioners in the colony, or nearly a month, a cave in the rocks was the abode of the unlucky men. The visitor to this pleasant town still sees, in the so-called Western Crag, the “Judges’ Hold;” a rocky couch, which, for nearly four weeks, served them as a bed. Besides Davenport and Jones, many others were in the secret, but there was no betrayer among them. When the fugitives heard of the danger into which Davenport’s magnanimity had brought him, they suddenly made their appearance in another place, in order to remove the suspicion that they were still in his house; they also begged of the governor to give them up, in order that the colony might not be endangered; but no use was made of this offer, and the danger luckily passed by. They remained two years more in the closest seclusion, and at last found a kind of home in Hadly, where a preacher received them under false names. Here they spent sixteen or seventeen long years, as it were entombed alive in their close retirement. Whalley died somewhat sooner; the others sank into almost childish dotage. According to a saying in Hadly, two unknown men lay buried in the preacher’s cellar. Truly, had their royal persecutor known their miserable life, he would have had the fullest vengeance in the slow mental death of a seventeen years’ long, total inactivity of energetic men, who had once played so important a part on the theatre of the world!

It is not to be supposed that all who had assisted in their escape, for that reason approved of their deeds; but the sympathy produced by their strong religion was

general. Goffe, who was Whalley's son-in-law, and kept up a correspondence with his wife, of which some part has, with his diary, been preserved, appears a most tender husband and father. Supported by Bible quotations and prophecies, and brooding over the Apocalypse, they hoped for better times : the execution of the judges was to be the slaying of the witnesses ; but when 1660 passed away, without the world's being overturned, the greatest dread seized them, till they were comforted by the supposition of some error in the Christian chronology. Such was their sole spiritual nourishment ; for their powers, forced into complete inactivity, were lost in the passing events of the day, of which the most unimportant are set down in Goffe's diary. The tempest-tost, adventurous life of these unhappy, misled men has made them an object of romantic interest to posterity. From the dark night of their existence some flashes of light break forth. Once, when in the horrible Indian  
1675 war, which we shall soon have to chronicle, the savages fell on the village of Hadly, whilst the inhabitants were at church—and when a general panic had seized on men, and struck them nerveless—a tall man, strangely armed, suddenly appeared among them, arrayed the troop of frightened ones, and at their head expelled the enemy. As their deliverer had appeared, so did he vanish, and the astonished country-people thanked the Lord of Hosts, who had sent one of his cherubims to their assistance.

The wrath of the king was dreaded on account of the favourable reception of these men, and all his assurances of grace could not have soothed the irritated spirit which was called forth by a resolution of parliament, confirming

and extending the Navigation Act in all the colonies. This act had been drawn up, under Cromwell's influence, for the promotion of English navigation. The English merchants had gradually accustomed themselves to transport their wares in Dutch ships, the freight of which was more moderate than the English, and, for the same reason, wares were gladly imported from the colonies in Dutch bottoms, while the English ships rotted in the harbours, and English seamen had to seek their bread in the Dutch service. The ordinance now ran,—“That no wares, either from Asia, Africa, or America, the colonies included, should be imported into England in any ship but such as had been built in England, or belonged to Englishmen or English colonists, commanded by Englishmen, and manned by at least three-fourths English hands; excepting always such wares as were brought direct from the places of their growth or manufacture, and, moreover, that no fish should be carried to England or Ireland, or exported from thence,” not even from one of their own harbours, which had not been taken by their own fishermen.

But though one object of this ordinance was to keep up the dependence of the colonies on the mother country, and to allow the advantage of their growing commerce to accrue to this latter, New England had as yet suffered but little by it; for, whilst the rigour of the act was chiefly directed against Virginia, the indulgence of the Protector made him close his eyes to their evasions, and the merchants of Boston continued to freight Dutch vessels, and trade with all regions; which, with the free

trade for their wares in England,\* gave them a decided advantage over the merchants of the mother country, and actively aroused their jealousy.

But the additions which parliament now made to the act struck the trade of New England to the heart, and necessarily lamed its powers. No wares were to be exported from the colonies, except into English harbours, under pain of confiscation. All ships sailing for England were to give security that they would not carry wares from thence to any other place. Sugar, tobacco, cotton, colours, ginger, fustic, were particularly mentioned; rice from Carolina, treacle from the West Indies, and copper ore from the northern regions, were afterwards added. The products not named were made duty free, either because there was no market for them, or because they brought less profit in the transport; "as it were," said Bancroft, "to give the colonists some means of earning money to pay for the wares of the mother country." On the other hand, the cultivation of tobacco was made the exclusive privilege of the colony; which, were it not laughable to forbid it in the mother country, where the soil was totally unsuited to it, gave an advantage to Virginia, and not to New England.

But parliament was not satisfied with this. The merchants of England beheld with sorrow and jealousy the rapid growth of the colonies, favoured by the extraordinary privileges of the charter, and the manifold evasions of the new trading laws which New England permitted herself, in the full conviction that the laws were opposed to her immunities. They accordingly used all their

\* Except the 5 per cent. on imported goods, which, after the expiration of their charter, they had to pay like all other subjects.



influence, and the government of England resolved to monopolize the colonial trade to their benefit. A new act ordained that no wares should be imported 1663 into the colonies from any part of the world which had not been freighted and shipped in an English or Welsh haven, except wine from the Azores or Madeira, and victuals from Scotland or Ireland. The dependence of the colonies was to be complete, only salt for the fisheries was to be set free. England was to gain, even when satisfying their most urgent necessities. Cut off from all intercourse with other people, the products of these were only to find their way to them through English hands.

It would have roused the most submissive subjects to see themselves treated so completely like step-children ; how much more so the Massachusetters, who saw in these trading laws the most complete violation of the promise of their charter to protect and foster their trade, a promise on which thousands had exchanged their home for a foreign country. "In the navigation act," says Bancroft, rightly, "the pledge of the future independence of America was contained." Nothing was heard but ill-humour or determined opposition ; it was an invasion of their rights, an infringement on their patent, which in clear terms promised them protection for their trade ; government and citizens were unanimous not to give effect to the ordinances of parliament.

In the mean time, they necessarily saw that this new state of things would for some time remain firm, and that no speedy change could be hoped for ; but they allowed more than a year to elapse before they

1670  
Aug. proclaimed the king, and even then it was done with freezing coldness and strange terms, merely remarking that they held the proclamation to be their duty, as Charles II. was decidedly "king of Great Britain and all his other territories." The government had no need to fear that this would be a day of rejoicing in Boston; but they strove also to avoid any incitement to debauchery, by issuing an ordinance "that no man should expect any indulgence for infringement of the laws, nor make bold to drink the king's health;" with the addition, that his majesty himself had forbidden this; for which they had no authority, nor does Charles's way of proceeding give the least countenance to it.

1644  
June The general assembly had taken place some time previously; the committee had given in their definition of the rights and duties of the colony, and the assembly had approved it. The resolution was made known under the name of "Declaration of our Rights by Charter," and is divided into two parts. The first relates to their rights, and declares them, as a political body, authorized by the charter to rule themselves, to give laws and execute them without appeal, except when they were opposed to those of England, and to regard as an encroachment on their rights every burden injurious and contrary to their laws. The second part carries back their duties as subjects of the king, to the obligation—firstly, to transfer the land in their possession to no foreign potentate; secondly, to prevent conspiracies, &c., as far as lay in their power; thirdly, to promote peace, and the welfare

of the king and nation, by a bold administration and government of the people committed to their care; by punishing as offences of the first and second class tables, all offences committed against him, his crown and dignity; by attempting to spread the gospel, as their king was protector of the faith, &c.

At length the conclusion was reached, that it appeared from the foregoing that it well beseemed the general assembly to defend their rights and privileges against the crown; that they were nevertheless bound, in spite of the protection promised by their laws to strangers, to deliver up evil-doers who fled to them, especially Whalley and Goffe, the two murderers of the king.

Meanwhile news came constantly of the bad state of their affairs in England. All their old enemies had suddenly awoke, and new ones had joined them. Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the old adventurers—the former of whom had the most undeniable claims to the king's gratitude—complained aloud against the usurpers of their territory. Godfrey, the governor, driven from Maine, raised his voice against them, as did Clarke, in the name of the injured neighbouring colonies—the most severe were the so bloodily persecuted quakers. It was this news which at last decided them on no longer deferring the proclamation of Charles II. But they also strove not to irritate him, as they showed by condemning Elliot's book, as we have mentioned, and setting free the twenty-eight quakers, and carrying them across the boundaries, whereby they expressly remarked, that the king's resolution only rested on a false report, but that it

was now yielded to, in order in no way to injure his majesty.\*

In England, a committee was named of the highest officials of state, to examine the affairs of the New England colonies, and a command was issued to the government of Massachusetts to answer the complaints brought in against them. After mature reflection, John Norton, successor to Cotton, and Simon Broadstreet, one of the assistants, were selected as agents to conduct their affairs in England.

Both undertook the commission with the greatest reluctance, after long hesitation, and not before the committee of the government, charged with expediting their movements, had pledged itself, in the name of the government, "to make good all damages which they might sustain by their persons being seized in England."

Norton had been at the head of the persecution of the quakers. A strange fanaticism seems to have seized him at this period of his life, of which, in other respects, he had not more than was common to his age; on the contrary, he had once done his best in favour of a supposed witch.† He was of a hypochondriacal temperament, and it was this, with the consciousness that he was looked on very unfavourably in England, on account of those severe laws—and, most of all, the difficulty, nay, the apparent impossibility, of executing his task—which made him at present so disinclined; for the agents had to soothe the court, and yet in no point to

\* Hutchinson says the quakers were let loose before the arrival, but in expectation of the king's command.

† Chap xx.

deviate from the charter, according to their interpretation of it—things which it seemed impossible to combine.

Broadstreet was, with Endicott, the oldest government official of the colony, and had been assistant as early as 1630. Of good but not splendid gifts, he was a warm friend of the country and its liberties; held these to be associated with the royal supremacy, did not approve of many of the high-soaring regulations of the government, and had even refused his vote to their severe measures against the petitioners in 1646. Hence he could not unconditionally defend their conduct; but his being elected agent shows the confidence placed in him.\*

Chalmers has justly remarked, that during the whole reign of Charles II. he and New England reciprocally hated, despised, and feared each other in like degree; with whatever fine words this feeling might be hidden, both parties were aware of what they had to expect from one another, where sound policy did not hold them back. The New England colonies were seventeen years older than Virginia, and more populous; grown important and great,† and the defiant spirit they had also shown to the king's father—when, twenty-five years before, they in respectful words hinted at a new emigra-

\* Hutch. Coll. 344—73.

† The population of the colonies at this period is given by Chalmers at 80,000; that is, Virginia 30,000, Maryland 12,000, so that 38,000 remained for New England. If this number be considered small in proportion to the 20,000 who had twenty years previously wandered thither, it must be observed that since then the emigration to America had almost ceased, and that on the other hand, after the expulsion of the Stuarts, the tide set towards New England, of which the population increased by 10,000 souls between 1650 and 1660.

tion, or even a revolt of the people, on account of an attack on their rights—was unabated, and had even grown stronger and deeper with time. It seemed, therefore, desirable at first to treat them with forbearance, and rather to shroud with the veil of oblivion the sins they had committed. To this may be added, that Charles, well-meaning himself, and now at the summit of prosperity, preferred giving to taking away, and gladly allowed the sun of his mercy to shine forth. The colonists also had some mighty friends, though they had a host of deadly foes. At the head of these friends stood the grey-headed Lord Say and Seal, once their ally, always their patron, and, as keeper of the great seal, possessed of much influence.

The agents of Massachusetts were accordingly received with surprising affability; but those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, who had arrived sooner, were loaded with favours. John Winthrop had been sent by the first-named colony, which could not have chosen a better representative. His noble, moderate opinions, his extraordinary accomplishments (he had travelled through half Europe, after finishing his studies, before he came to America, and was in close connexion with the best English scholars), and his amiable manners, gained him friends at court and the marked favour of the king. It happened that he was able to transfer to the monarch a ring which his grandfather had formerly received from the unfortunate Charles I., as a mark of favour. This instantly aroused the interest of the monarch, claimed on all sides, and weary of business. It also appears from a letter preserved in Winthrop's family, but which further on finds no elucidation.

tion, that the younger Winthrop had, shortly before Charles's restoration, been intimately connected with his party, and had contributed to his restoration to his ancestral throne. In this letter, dated from Brussels, 1660, Charles warmly expresses his thanks for the service rendered to his country, and says, "The world shall know how I feel your goodness, and what a great instrument you have been, in the hands of Providence, in promoting the weal of your country." This letter, written by the king's own hand, is genuine; but the cover has been lost, and addressed by another hand as King Charles's letter to Governor Winthrop. There is no other key to it; and as Governor Winthrop was not at that time in Europe, it may be that this address rests on an error; but it is certain that during his present stay in England he enjoyed the king's favour to an extraordinary extent.

However that may be, the charter was ready, prepared perhaps in Connecticut by Winthrop and the other counsellors and representatives of the people; in all essentials it was the same as the former, ordaining a constitution essentially democratic; a yearly elected governor, vice-governor, and twelve assistants, were to conduct every thing in half-yearly sittings, and Winthrop was to fill the first seat for the present year. The land which the lords had bought from them was there promised them in its most complete extent; this included the territory of the colony of Newhaven, to which Connecticut had never laid claim. The privileges conceded to them were very important; all executive power was given into their hands, all rights of born Englishmen being thereby ensured to them; and, to crown the graci-

ous gift, a promise was added, that in case of equivoque in the patent, the interpretation should always be in favour of the colonists.

One might well ask if Charles knew what he was doing, when he, at a time when the abuse of such privileges by the colonists of Massachusetts had repeatedly been spoken of in his court, gave a constitution with still more important rights and privileges to men so closely related to them in sentiment? Those English politicians who declare the lending of such privileges as are injurious to the other subjects unconstitutional and illegal, may be right, although it would be difficult to prove that the injustice consists in granting democratic documents of constitution. Charles, with his usual levity, doubtless followed at the moment only a turn of royal grace and generosity to Winthrop personally,

1662 and it is even doubtful if he took the trouble to read the document which he signed. At all events, he, two years after, gave the Duke of York a considerable portion of the land he now ensured to Connecticut.

There the document, which seemed to fix for ever their previous standing and much greater advantages, awakened universal joy. But so much greater was the consternation at Newhaven, on seeing themselves included without once having been asked. They bitterly accused their Connecticut neighbours of being false and treacherous. They had thought themselves the safer because Davenport, the real soul of the government there, had warned Winthrop before his departure against such injustice, and received from him the assurance, that even if in London a union should be aimed at, the accepting



of it should be left entirely to them. It has never been completely explained whether, in spite of this promise, the union took place at the instigation of Winthrop and the governor of Connecticut, or if the powerful in England, who did not recognize Newhaven founded on no charter, arbitrarily included it. Enough, the men of Connecticut greedily seized the advantage, held a general assembly, demanded submission, and announced the union by the charter.

But they of Newhaven, justified in every sense in feeling themselves injured, repelled the summons with determination, and with one voice declared against the union. Davenport, at the age of sixty-six, infirm of frame, but unbroken in spirit, with the same proud lust of sway which had led him to the wilderness, far from the influence of his peers, would not see the creation of his hands sink. He breathed his spirit into the general assembly. He was their organ when they, with retributive but just anger, pointed out to Connecticut her treachery, her violation of the charter for the united colonies, one maxim of which was to protect one another. There were several points in the charter of Connecticut which they hated—the occasional encroachment of the civic authorities in church affairs; while in Newhaven the state rather served the church! The circumstance that in Connecticut the burgership was not united to churchdom, that even those who did not belong to the saints could fill magisterial dignities, and the stamp of *human* wisdom which their institutions bore, whilst the community he had founded was immediately based on the type of the New Scriptures. All this made the thought insupportable of seeing Connecticut and New-

haven united, or rather of seeing the latter engulfed by the other.

But the greatest enormity was, that since the Hertford controversy a freer spirit had gained footing in the churches of Connecticut and Massachusetts, which Davenport had in vain endeavoured to counteract. The decisions of the general council and synod at Boston, that henceforth the doors of the Most Holy should be at least thrown open to all who had not by gross sins made themselves unworthy of the name of Christian, were rejected by him; and his influence and consideration in Newhaven were so great, that no other of the preachers of the colony, a younger race, ventured to oppose him, though he could not prevent innovation from creeping in among the people. Long before the arrival of the charter the burgership had been urgently demanded by some who were not members of the church, and Davenport's powerful influence was not able to prevent tumultuous scenes among the people, and commotions even among the freemen.

Under such circumstances the union with Connecticut, which, in point of fact, brought equal advantages to all, and had long been wished for by many, would certainly have met with much less opposition, if the secrecy of the step itself had not justly exasperated Newhaven; and the manner in which the government of Connecticut sought to gain its own ends roused more and more bitterness. The colony of Newhaven had in a body declared, through their general assembly, their opposition to these regulations; and as they had not been mentioned in the charter, but only the territory in which they resided, doubts were uttered as to whether they were really meant by it. But there, as elsewhere,

there were malcontents who, eagerly employing the news, subverted the government of Connecticut, proffered the oath of allegiance, and sought, as it were, to bind a state within the state, which was favoured and promoted by the government, instead of being rejected as contrary to all civic order. Nay, in one case they went so far as to send magisterial officials by night over the boundaries to Guildford, where the governor dwelt, and coerced the oath of allegiance. We are compelled to believe that these steps were <sup>1663</sup> taken without Governor Winthrop's sanction, who still tarried in England. At least it would seem that New England had never lost their confidence in him, which in a neighbourly intercourse of many years (he had settled in New London) he had gained among some of their first men. Hoping for a lucky issue, he withheld them from carrying out their resolution of appealing to the king, and after his return his influence contributed very much to lull the storm.

And, in fact, they could only have promised themselves very slender success from an appeal. For twenty-two years they had exercised all the power of an independent state, without having been properly authorized to do so by the ideas of law then paramount in England, and, indeed, in all Europe; for the citizen of any civilized state drags with him into the wilderness the long chain of submission, and can only free himself from it by taking on another. It was in the consciousness of this that Newhaven, after having been left to herself for five or six years, sent an assistant, called Gregson, to England to procure a patent; for the times were favourable, and all the colonies of New England had received

a proof of it in the remission of the duties by parliament. She saw her right to the land on which her colonists had settled irrevocably acknowledged by the neighbouring colonies, and a short time before confirmed by the league of the united colonies, which the more deserves remark, as their territory really belonged to the enormous stretch of land which Connecticut had, in 1644, bought from the English noblemen; but a royal confirmation seemed to give them better rights against the Dutch, who claimed all the land between the Hudson and Connecticut. Nay, it seems as if the only case in which they could ever, here in the wilderness, lay claim to the name of English subjects, had now arrived. When they heard a report that the Dutch proposed to set up the arms of the general states on the sea coast, they quickly had the king's arms cut out in wood and planted in the very spot.

The ship which was to bear the agent to England perished in a storm. They soon received a proof that parliament acknowledged them, even without a patent, in a letter from the colonial committee, wherein they were treated as a self-existent settlement, and the unruly souls among them exhorted to obedience and sub-

mission to the appointed authorities. Crom-  
1657 well invited them, like the Massachussetters, to Jamaica, and during his life they were certain of his favour. All this had made them neglect further steps to secure a confirmation from England.

But they must have been convinced that they had no particular favour to expect from the king's government. They had long protected and concealed the regicides exempted from the amnesty, and pursued by the vengeance

of Charles ; and though it could not be proved, yet the suspicion that the authorities had known of it claved to them. They had been the most negligent of all the colonies in proclaiming the present king ; and the wonderfully wooden form in which it at last took place,\* seemed to indicate the ill will with which they submitted to necessity. They had, nevertheless, determined on sending the agent to England, when the charter arrived and gave another turn to matters.

Reason soon reconciled the colonists to the idea, and a new danger threatening them in case of delay, made them come to a speedy conclusion. This was the arrival of the commissioners, who were to take possession of Manhattoes for the Duke of York. The thought of being incorporated, in case of appeal, with the new forming province of New<sup>y</sup>York, instead of with the colony of Connecticut, at once decided them upon submitting to what was unavoidable, and the union took place, opposed only by one township, which soon after emigrated. The two commonweals, formed of like elements, animated by one interest and equally blessed with wise laws, simple manners, active piety, and a just and careful administration, soon grew inseparably into one another.

But Davenport's ambition could not support the change. "The interest of Christ," he wrote to Leverett, "has been woefully lost." Three years after, he, now

\* "Although we have received from the king, or state council, no form of proclamation to proclaim the king, the court, encouraged by what has been done in other colonies, has held it fitting herewith to declare and proclaim,—that we acknowledge his royal highness Charles<sup>II</sup>, King of England, for our sovereign lord and king ; and ourselves, the inhabitants of the colony of Newhaven, for his loyal and trusty subjects."

1666 above seventy, withdrew to Boston, where in a distracted community new struggles awaited him. He hoped here to be able with more energy to counteract the resolves of the synod of 1662, the results of which was the so-called Half-Covenant, admitting all persons of not scandalous conduct to baptism, but not communion. But the spirit of the age was not to be checked, and in two short years set a goal to the career of this ambitious and imperious, but wonderfully powerful and spiritual old man.

The constitution of Connecticut so completely satisfied the wishes and wants of the inhabitants, that though for seventy years past all alterations have been left to their own judgment, it has remained essentially the same to our day. Freedom of conscience to a certain point, that is, toleration of the non-congregation-  
alists, as baptists, quakers, presbyterians, nay, even episcopalians, if they would completely satisfy the wants of the time. A fertile soil, a free traffic, unchecked activity of trade, carefully supported free schools, of which the basis was the Bible, a government of which the officials were self elected, and the yearly cost of which after fifty years did not exceed £800, and could be easily covered by small taxes; an administration of justice, which with the simplest forms was intelligible to every one, and from its cheapness accessible to the poorest; all these united to make Connecticut one of the most fortunate nooks of the earth, and to cherish a proud contentment among her citizens. There were few rich, and no poor; a small trade, mostly restricted to the other colonies of New England and New York, gave a people of cultivators little prospect of

amassing wealth. At the time of the union of the colonies nineteen thriving townships, inhabited by 11,000 souls, lay scattered in the two colonies. In fifteen years they had twenty-six townships, most of them with church, every church possessing a learned pastor, while the population was about 15,000.\* Every township conducted its own affairs under the most simple forms, without dreading an attack from the government; and the citizen whom the voice of the people called to be the leader of the whole, was educated in the administration by passing from smaller to greater matters.

At about the same time in which Connecticut was so favoured, the colony of Rhode Island, 1663 whose agent was the active and unselfish Clarke, had succeeded in gaining similar privileges; there also the government was given into the hands of the freemen, who every year had to choose the governor, assistants and representatives of the people. The little district was of small extent, containing only four regular townships, with about two thousand five hundred inhabitants, constantly exposed to the irruptions of the Indians who dwelt scattered among the whites. The factor of Rhode Island urgently wished to incorporate the whole Narragansett land into their colony; but this was opposed by Connecticut, to whom the charter just drawn out assigned the Narragansett River (one and the same with the Bay of Narragansett) as her south-east boundary; this included at least a third of Rhode Island. Their agent protested, and a dispute arose between him and

\* These numbers are calculated from their tolerably correct militia reports, which included all males between sixteen and sixty, the number given being multiplied by six.

Winthrop, which was at last happily settled by both submitting to the decision of impartial umpires; these decided that the Pawcatuck, the mouth of which is opposite to Long Island, should be the boundary of both colonies, and should in future be understood under the name of the Narragansett River, which was inscribed in their charter. A line to the north, as far as the boundary of Massachusetts from the eastern curve of this water, brought about three hundred to four hundred English square miles into their territory. But the small settlements among the Indians which had been planted since 1641, partly as trading places, were allowed to choose under which colony they wished to stand, and decided for Connecticut.

For the other colonies continued to look on Rhode Island with mistrust and contempt, partly because the thoroughly democratic government there appeared too weak to give real shelter, partly and principally on account of what seems an inestimable privilege, the perfect freedom of conscience, producing a mixture of all sects. Their new charter told them, in definite terms, that they should give a living example "that a state is compatible with perfect freedom in religious affairs, and could be supported in the best manner." It was received with jubilee, and Clarke was, later on, greeted as a benefactor to the colonists.

The conditions of freemanship were left to the good thinking of the colonists and, in accordance with the ideas of the mother country, they resolved to make it dependent on a certain amount of fixed local property.\*

\* The charter is reprinted in the "Public Laws of Rhode Island. Providence, 1798."



The small aristocratic addition which the colony of Rhode Island gained by this was afterwards bitterly felt, and regarded as an encroachment on the right of a fundamental principle in the United States, namely, universal equality.\*

In the first assembly for legislating and other arrangements, it was further decided that no impost could be raised except by the general assembly comprizing the representatives of the people, and that no man of sufficient fortune (the amount to be previously decided) and "civil conversation" should be ineligible to freemanship.

Chalmers, who wrote shortly before the revolution, adds, that only the catholics were exempted therefrom, but that they carefully concealed this clause. An enemy to the New England colonies, to whatever party they may belong, he remarks with scorn that Roger Williams' tolerance extended to all but catholics. He had the use of the colonial registers in England, and all papers belonging to them; he was therefore amply informed on every point, nay, he passes for an authority, and it was natural that later historians should copy him; subsequent investigations have, however, proved that this was surreptitious tradition, doubtless made out of regard to the mother country, and on the faith of his own hate to the catholics. In the archives of the earlier history of Rhode Island there is not a trace of it to be found; many other laws and statements are most decidedly opposed to it; and this clause first appears in the printed codes of laws, of which the oldest edition is more than eighty

\* A few years previously freemen must possess a piece of land free of debts, worth £134, and paying £7 rent. Such a possession heired freemanship to the eldest son.

years later than the charter, as the colony had no printing press before this. And even here the words are all that we can see; for more than a century there were no papists in the colony; and when at last some came, and the application of it might have been possible, the circumstance only gave occasion to the total abolition of the laws.

The colonists of Plymouth alone could not warm themselves in the brief sunshine of royal favour. They also urgently wished to procure a renewal of their patent, but they were too poor to send agents, and to support the expenses of drawing out a new charter. That of Connecticut had cost £1300; it seemed impossible to raise such a sum, and thus the auspicious moment was lost. When they began to bestir themselves, the king was aware that he had done too much for the others; and now began a hidden struggle, which lasted more than twenty years, and ended in one of the most unprincipled acts of violence that the history of despotism can show.

The agents of Massachusetts soon returned to America, bearers of a royal message, couched in the most gracious terms. Full pardon for all offences during the late troubles was assured them, and the wish of the king to confirm their rights and privileges, and to renew the charter in case they wished it; but some conditions were appended to these assurances of grace, which, however reasonable they may appear to us, were regarded by the fathers of Massachusetts as an encroachment on their rights, as being opposed to their views, and, according to their opinion, pregnant with danger to the commonweal. The king's demands were as follows:—

1. Revision of their laws, and the recal of all such as were opposed to the king's authority and supremacy.
2. Taking the oath of allegiance as subjects of the King of England.
3. Administration of justice in the king's name.
4. Freedom of conscience for all who wished to use the Book of Common Prayer, and thus to perform their devotions after the way of the church of England.
5. Admission of all persons of good conduct to the communion, and of their children to baptism. Finally,
6. Admission to citizenship of all persons of sufficient fortune, or orthodox in belief, and not of vicious life.

The first impression which this letter, containing the most gracious sentiments and wishes for their welfare, made on the governor and assistants, was on the whole advantageous. It was, as he in distinct terms ordained, made public; a thanksgiving was appointed to God, the Lord, who had happily brought back their messengers, and procured them peace, immunities and the Gospel; but, on closer examination, they began to read the matter somewhat differently: they were compelled to think that the promises, in the first part of the letter, were in some degree abrogated by the conditions of the latter part, and not only the government, but the people also, saw the matter in this light. They began to look askance at the agents; to let fall hints that they had been wanting in zeal, and even neglected their duty. Norton was made to hear that he had laid the foundation-stone to the annihilation of their immunities; and a Boston merchant wrote to Davenport, "Norton has lost the respect of all here." The two agents met with reproaches or injurious silence wherever they appeared.

In this painful manner they were doomed to experience the change of the popular favour;—a fate which fell on nearly all the agents of the growing republic. In vain Norton declared, before the assembly, that “if they did not fulfil the king’s request, all the bloodshed would lay at their door.” The general voice of the government officials, as of the representatives of the people, was against it. In a neighbouring little town a constable refused to publish the letter; a “select man,” in the same place, loudly expressed his contempt for it, and said it led direct to popery: both were informed against on account of their behaviour, but, as the matter could not be proved, were willingly set free unpunished.

Broadstreet, grown old in state business, and accustomed to the tide of popular opinion, supported the slight acknowledgment he received better than Norton; who, naturally of a melancholic temperament, more at home in the study and pulpit than in political intrigues, took the ingratitude of the people much to heart, and thought he saw reproof in the earnest countenance of every acquaintance, and his best friends estranged. Inward vexation consumed him, and soon snapped the thread of life. Some months after his return, he was seized by a fit of apoplexy, while standing by his own fireside. The quakers, whom he had once so tormented, triumphed. “John Norton,” they said afterwards, in their petition to the king and parliament, “the high-priest of Boston, was hurled down by the direct power of the Lord; and when he sank on his own hearth, under the just doom of God, he acknowledged the hand of the Lord lay heavy on him; and so he died.” But the congregational churches lamented

1663

April

the loss of one of their ornaments, and the learned theological world the setting of one of its brightest lights.

Meanwhile, the general assembly resolved, in the interim, only to fulfil one of the king's demands, by ordaining that henceforth all judicial acts, processes, &c., should be conducted in the king's name, the other points being referred to a committee. 1663

The demand that all Christians, of not vicious conduct, should be admitted to baptism and communion, had been in part fulfilled of their own accord, before the royal letter came. Five years previously, a general council had decided that the children of all Christians of honest character were entitled to baptism, without more exact examination of their state of grace, and that only the sacrament should be reserved for true believers; but many churches had refused obedience, and the tumults had called forth another synod, which confirmed the resolutions of the council, without, however, finding general assent. Most churches had, in the mean time, been reconciled to the innovation, but the priestly pride of the grey-headed Davenport still fought against it, as did also some young clergymen under his wings, among whom a young theologian, of the name of Increase Mather, scarcely twenty years old, distinguished himself, whilst Richard Mather, his father, was one of the spokesmen of the other party. The so-called "half-way covenant," which was valid in some American churches to the beginning of this century, dates from this synod. 1657

They also sought, in the course of the year, to fulfil conditionally the other demands, or to elude them. The oath of allegiance was taken from all the grown-up in-

habitants. A new law ordained that, henceforth, besides members of the church, all might strive for citizenship who were above twenty-four years old, kept their own house, and could bring from any preacher a certificate of their orthodox faith and honest way of life, and who, besides poll-tax, paid a tax of 10s. to one particular branch; which, perhaps, in all the colony, not three in a hundred could do, and that then the reception should be noted upon.

With this small concession they thought themselves bound to watch, more closely than ever, over their authority. Captain Bredan, who had appeared against them in England as accuser, on account of their sheltering the regicides, came again into the colony, 1662 and, on the strength of the bad state of their affairs at court, assumed an authoritative tone, and conducted himself shamefully to the officials and judges; but he was seized without further ceremony, and fined enormously for contempt of the authorities, besides having to give security for good behaviour: for they felt keenly that they must stand firm on their feet to keep themselves up at all. The renewal of the Act of Conformity in England, which in one day made breadless two thousand clergymen not two years after the proclamation of Breda had been drawn out, proved to them, that even if they now submitted to the king's will neither his promises nor favour were to be trusted to.

## CHAPTER XXII.

COMMISSION FROM ENGLAND. — ATTACK ON THE  
DUTCH POSSESSIONS.—SPIRIT IN MASSACHUSETTS.  
—FROM 1664 TO 1668.

THE time was now come when Massachusetts had to stand for her rights with defiant resolve, and to cleave with iron grasp to every favour given by her charter.

The dishonourable policy of Charles II., which prepared the decay of his house, would not even spare the colonies. No European country ever had a better right to her colonies than Holland to the lands of the Hudson. The right of first discovery,—the better one of possession,—and the only real one of purchase and first cultivation,—were all united here. But from the very first these claims were opposed to those of the English, only founded on King James's arbitrary gifts, his voice was infallible among the royalists who were favoured thereby. But with remarkable inconsistency, the puritans also acknowledged his right to present to the societies of Plymouth and Virginia, the broad tracts between 34° and 45°, merely because a hundred years previously a ship's captain, in the service of one of his predecessors, had touched on the coast of Labrador. The absurdity of this claim is so striking, that only the egotism of an English patriot can be blinded by it. Enough, that at the time of the events we are relating, the Dutch were

regarded by the English of all parties as intruders, and looked on askance. Even the colonists felt but little thanks for the neighbourly politeness of those who, in their opinion, had only become neighbours by usurpation. Those of Connecticut fearlessly advanced nearer and nearer to them, to make good their claims as Englishmen, and took possession of Long Island: even a formal treaty could scarcely check their encroachments. Many, without doubts as to the validity of their own claims, sought to expel them from Delaware; and though Virginia and Massachusetts kept on good terms with them, and even sought to keep up a trading intercourse, and willingly met them half-way, it was only because their own advantage in this was too clear to be misunderstood.

Cromwell, like his successor, thought of conquering New Netherlands; the peace hindered him from carrying out the plan, but the splendour and fame of Holland were enough to rouse the unprincipled ministers of Charles to hostilities in a time of peace.

1664 Charles presented to his brother, the Duke of York, not only part of Maine, but also the entire Dutch territory, and during a peace sent off four ships of war to take possession of it by force. Massachusetts, too, must lend a hand to this unjust act, and furnish troops, but Colonel Richard Nichols, to whom it was confided, stood at the head of a commission, sent by the king to examine into the condition of the New England colonies, and decide upon many complaints which had been sent in against Massachusetts. But before we follow this commission further, a short sketch of the history of Dutch colonization may aid in showing the undertaking of the English in its right light.



Heinrich Hudson, a Dutchman, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, was 1609 the first who sailed into the haven of Manhattoes, though the coast had really been frequently visited previously, and he cannot be called the discoverer of the whole region, but only of the harbour. One of his boats ascended the magnificent stream, to which he gave his own name, as far as Albany. Yet he did not take possession of the land in the name of the states, as the sailors of England and France were wont to do in the name of their kings; the year after the East India Company sent some ships to Manhattoes to open a trade with the inhabitants, and they were followed by some merchants. A few huts were erected on the island of Manhattoes, and perhaps some more higher up the river; they were private undertakings for the convenience of the shippers and trading people, without the states having, on that account, declared the land to be their territory. But in the mean time, Captain Argall, of Virginia, returning from a piratical attack on the French settlements in the North, ascended the river, declared this land to be a part of Virginia, and easily forced a few fur-jobbers, and fishmongers, to submit.

It was, perhaps, this usurpation which decided the owners of the trading ships on sending a 1614 re-inforcement next year to Manhattoes, and the year after to build a fort high up on the river, and to think of taking possession of the territory. 1615 The new commander refused the tribute which the weakness of his predecessors had granted, and there was no more talking of submission. The English historians hence asserted, that the Dutch acknowledged the right of

the English, named it New Virginia it acknowledgment of its being part of Virginia, and intrigued with King James for a privilege for it, who, however, granted them only the island, thence called Staaten Island, to serve them on their West India voyages for taking in water. But no confirmation of this is found in the Dutch archives, and the history of the next forty years seems to contradict it decisively.

A considerable time elapsed before the Dutch thought of colonization. The shores of the Hudson long remained mere places of trade, the advantages of which

1614 were assured to a society of merchants by a monopoly of four years. This monopoly after that time passed, together with other privileges, to the recently organized West Indian Company, which at one

1621 and the same time undertook to colonize the coasts of Africa and America. The land on the Hudson now seems, for the first time, to have been called New Netherlands, but in the meanwhile the English continued to regard as their property all Virginia, that is, all North America between the parts already taken possession by the French and Spaniards. How little they doubted of this is shown by the fact, that the pilgrims who lived among the Dutch, and necessarily knew of their trading voyages to the Hudson, and who, at the time of their departure, were to be won over to these plans of colonization which then came under discussion, hoped to be able to settle safely on the Hudson, under the auspices of the Virginian Society. Without knowledge of the localities they probably did not perceive the collision which must arise from these contending claims.

Two or three years passed away after the arrival of the latter, before a small settlement arose around the fort on the south promontory of Manhattoes 1623 Island. This was called New Amsterdam, the 1624 foundation of New York. Peter Minuits, the agent of the company, now took on the name of governor; but still trade ever remained the sole object, the promotion of which was the reason given for the great favour the government showed to the West India Company. Dutch ships ascended the Northern River, as the Hudson is yet called by them, to meet the Indians coming from afar to Fort Orange (Albany), and to exchange their wares for fur; through the East River and the Sound of Long Island, up to Connecticut, until the English expelled them around Cape May, to which Captain Cornelius May left his name, round into the South River, on the banks of which New Belgium, Albion, and Sweden, found room. Their activity penetrated to all regions of the world. The 1627 colonists of Plymouth greeted them as neighbours. A just trade seemed to bring like advantages to both.

At last the colonizing plans of the company 1629 were ready, but they were not animated by the democratic spirit of the English colonies; the feudal relations of the mother country were carried into the wilderness. Every one, certainly, who emigrated at his own expense had as much land as he could plant, and many a small rustic establishment arose; but the scheme was chiefly intended for the great landowners. He who pledged himself to bring over, within four years, a colony of fifty souls, was lord of the lands which he there colonized; patron of these his vassals, and frank-

lin of all towns arising there. The claims of the Indians were to be settled by purchase.

Such inviting conditions could not remain without result. The noble shores of the Hudson west-  
1630 ward as far as the Mohawk, the isles of the Bay, the lands by the Delaware, had their lords. The company had only reserved for themselves the Island of Manhattoes. An abandoned fort, called Fort Nassau, not far from the Delaware, was repaired, a forti-  
1633 fied trading house planted on the Connecticut, and in spite of the opposition of the English, a small colony raised about it. No man could deny that if first possession gives claim, the Dutch were the real owners of Connecticut, and Long Island.

The discords which had begun on the Connecticut between the English and Dutch, were not long the sole ones. In vain Governor Kieft sent in a form of protest against the English settlers of Quinnipialk, as also against the Swedes, who were attempting a settlement on the Delaware. In vain he gave some of the planters of Long Island a very rough reception. The colonists of Newhaven unconcernedly continued tilling; and Lord  
1640 Stirling's men tore down the Dutch arms, and planted a fool's head in their stead.

Kieft, a man of violent passions, could only oppose impotent anger to such attacks and injuries, the general States only occupied themselves with the American colonies in so far as these supported the West Indian Company with capital, the real trading was left to themselves, that of the settlements on the Hudson to one of the company's five branches which had its seat in Amsterdam. But this demanded immediate gain,

the whole affair was conducted with the greatest possible economy ; a war could only bring them loss, dispirit the capitalists and make the whole undertaking fail. To venture a battle with the colony's weak forces, was beyond the power of a population scattered over broad districts. The men who could have been brought together for war, had enough to do to defend themselves against the attacks of the Indians.

The first intercourse of the Dutch with the natives, had been essentially pacific, but the tricks of unprincipled dealers, and the fatal sale of spirits had soon occasioned tumults and feuds until hostile and extirpating fury broke out on every side. During a short peace the son of a chief had, while drunk, committed murder on a harmless, greyheaded old Dutchman ; a murder which ambassadors from all the races on the river banks vainly endeavoured to hush up by presents of all kinds. Filled with a wild desire  
1642  
of vengeance, Kieft sent out troops who fell on their huts in the stillness of the night ; a horrible massacre ensued and more than a hundred women and children among them, were offered up to the manes of one.

The unhappy beings thought they were the victims of the animosity of the Mohawks, of whom a troop had just come up the river, whereupon they sought protection from the strangers, but when they discovered that it was the treacherous whites who had shed this deluge of blood, they were seized with the most horrid fury, and a fearful and desolating war began, which spared neither age nor sex, and spread horror and desolation over the peaceful cottages on the shores of the river and Long Island. The unhappy Anna

Hutchinson and her family fell victims to this fury. The colonists, though they had at an earlier period insisted on the punishment of the murderer, looked with horror on their governor, who, detested for his manifold cruelties, had now brought nameless horrors upon them. He had to canvass for peace; Roger

1643 Williams accidentally there mediated with the Indians of Long Island, and somewhat later a treaty was made with the races of the continent. But men's passions being roused, there was but a short peace; the spark smouldered amid the ashes, and the war soon raged anew, until at last an enduring peace was concluded in a solemn assembly of a great number of chiefs before the fort of New Amsterdam by the mediation of the Mohawks present. The results of this merciless war were felt long after and even a century later a field called Strickland's Plain bore on its surface a countless chain of little hills, the graves of the slain. The battle in which they fell is only preserved by tradition to posterity, the archives do not mention it; which, however, from the vacancies they contain, does not impair its historical truth. There was now peace with the Indians, but the colonists united in urging the deposition of Kieft, whose unwise severity aroused also the dissatisfaction of the Company. The violent, rude, but apparently honest and unselfish man was shipwrecked and perished in the waves on his return home.

His successor Peter Stuyvesant, in one of the most difficult positions possible, left to posterity a name covered with honour. Continued encroachments of the English and Swedes, the charge of the Company to maintain their rights without providing him with the

necessary means, the roused passions of the Indians who were now to be soothed by a milder policy, but especially the growing discontent among the colonists in whom the privileges and immunities of their English neighbours awakened a jealous desire for similar benefits; all ran against him. The English reports of the day, as well as of those later American historians who write exclusively in the interest of their countrymen, are highly unfavourable to him; they paint him as sly and deceitful accuse him without sufficient reason of exasperating the Indians against them, nay, of warping up a conspiracy; and even his unexampled energy, his moderation and his calvinistic piety, are scarcely mentioned with any thing like due respect. The secret archives also have treasured up many a feature of martial despotism, many a rash encroachment, and some steps savouring of sect prejudice. But the character of his administration observes honour and praise. By dint of labour and personal activity he concluded a peace with 1650 the English of Connecticut, as the Company feared to lose, rather than to gain, by violently maintaining their rights. He contrived to keep on the best terms with the Virginians, and at the head of six hundred men conducted a campaign against the Swedes on the Delaware, 1655 and overthrew them. He had grown old as a warrior, was an invalid, and had come to New England with one leg only, having replaced the other, it is said, by a silver one. He had till now contrived to keep the neighbouring Indians quiet; during his absence they fell on the Dutch, but his return restored peace. He also concluded a peace with the distant Mohawks.

As we have previously remarked, he had the most

trouble with the colonists, in whom the tendency to extend civic freedom grew more and more active. The settlement had bloomed visibly since the company had to a certain extent set free the trade which it had hitherto reserved for itself; the same principle of tolerance which had in Europe made the Netherlands the home of all persecuted for religion, assured them an asylum in the trans-atlantic Netherlands; Jew and Christian, Protestant and Catholic dwelt peaceably together. Stuyvesant's personal intolerance for a short time brought down persecution on the quakers, but the directors of the company decisively refused it to him. "Let every peaceable burgher," they said, with true wisdom, "have the freedom of his conscience; it is this maxim that has made our city a city of refuge for the fugitives of all lands. Tread in their steps and it will be salvation to you."

The first administration introduced was entirely arbitrary, and gave the people no voice. Even the patrons, though almost unrestricted rulers of their own territory, were without influence on the public affairs, and the government was exclusively in the hands of the governor and his council. Necessity first made  
 1642      them listen to the voice of the people, whose money they required, and who refused to pay arbitrary taxes. Tillers of the land and merchants came together, and after manifold embarrassments gained certain rights and privileges as corporate bodies in Amsterdam, but  
 1648      the example of their democratic neighbours was  
 1652      seductive. Still more the influence of those English village emigrants of Connecticut, which had at the time of the partition of Long Island passed



under Dutch rule, with full assurance of all their rights. Before it was formally confessed, it was felt that a voice in their own taxation was not enough ; that of assisting in their own legislation appeared, justly, of no less importance. A diet was extorted ; an Englishman of Long Island, George Baxter, was speaker, and Stuyvesant, accustomed to soldiers' discipline, blindly devoted to the interests of the company, and contemning the multitude, started at the demands of these people, partially arrived at majority. No representations availed ; nothing could be done but dissolve the assembly. 1653

In the mean time, the position of the colonies became difficult. Maryland laid claim to the possessions of the town of Amsterdam on the Delaware ; Virginia appeared cold ; Connecticut, violating all treaties, forced her way more and more into Long Island, and, instead of the half, it now had two-thirds. A storm gathered from England. Weakly supported by the Company, Stuyvesant felt himself the necessity for a voluntary assembly of the people ; but a new assembly found them cold. In the New England colonies every one was willing to risk his life for the great ; but the colonists of New Netherlands asked, " Shall we venture our life for the prosperity of the Company ? They must protect us ; for we are their servants, and cannot do it ourselves." A loud murmur was heard that the Company had invited them to colonize a land, of the possession of which they were not sure, and which did not even belong to them :—such a preponderance had the English influence attained.

This was the state of things when the first voyage of the year brought to Massachusetts 1664

the news that there were already several ships of war on their way from England, with some gentlemen of station among them, whom they took to be the commissioners they had so long dreaded ; for to Winthrop and Clark, as well as to their own agents, the king had announced his intention of sending commissioners to examine matters. The general assembly was at this time assembled, and an order was at once sent to the captain of the harbour fort not to lose an instant, and on the first sight of the ships to send word, so that, on landing the troops, all necessary precautions might be taken to prevent disorders :—a hostile frigate could hardly have been awaited with different feelings. In the mean time, other preparations were made for the fitting reception of the distinguished guests, and at the same time to deposit the much-prized patent—the basis of their liberties—after it had once been laid before the assembly, together with a duplicate of it, in the hands of four trusty men, who were to care for its safety. It may be seen from this that they were provided for the worst, but they did not trust solely to themselves ; a day of fasting and prayer for the whole country to beg, in this threatening danger, for protection and assistance from the Lord of Hosts.

This anxiety lasted several months. The ships only arrived in July, with the royal commissioners, Colonels Nichols and Cartwright, on board. The fleet had been dispersed near the harbour, and the two other members of the commission, Sir Robert Carr and Sir Samuel Maverick, an old acquaintance, landed at about the same time in Piscataqua. Nichols, who was at the head of the commission, and without whose assent none of

their resolutions were valid, was a man of honour, discreet and reasonable; who, in spite of the difficulties of his position, gained the respect even of those against whom he stood. Sir Robert Carr and Cartwright, on the other hand, both, it appears, royal officers, also vied in rude assumption and unwise conduct; proving that they were in every way unworthy of their station. We have hitherto only known Samuel Maverick as a good-hearted and hospitable voluptuary, who at first even attempted to ingratiate himself with the zealots of the new colonies; but the narrow-minded bigotry of the rulers, who had excluded him from all situations, had made him, little by little, their bitterest enemy. He belonged to the petitioners of 1646, and, since the restoration, had been in England, untiringly striving to effect a step, the execution of which he now shared. His association with the commission was principally owing to his knowledge of the locality, and the probability of his being useful to the others. His appearance as royal commissioner, with a commission to report upon them, was particularly felt by the government of Massachusetts, before whose tribunal he had repeatedly stood.

Not only the government, but the bulk of the people also, received the commissioners with ill-will, even though, in course of time, the discontented took advantage of their presence to bring forward their grievances. A report went before them, that they were sent "to raise an income of £5000 in the colonies for the king, and, besides this, to lay a yearly tax of 12*d.* on every acre of ploughed land;" and men looked on them with mistrust. A speech which Major Hawthorn held before the troops, and another which the governor held

before the assembly, embittered men more and more. The latter (it was General Endicott who in this year, for the fifteenth time, filled the highest post) at their request called the council together, before whom the commissioners laid at first, besides the royal letters and their testimonials, only that part of their commission which referred to Manhattoes, for which they demanded as many troops as the king could bring together in a month; promising, at the same time, to say if they thought they could gain their end without troops. The answer was referred to the assembly, which was to be held without delay. Before it took place the commissioners left Manhattoes; but not without previously declaring that their commission was by no means limited to this, and that further points should be produced at their return, but that they (the assembly) would do well, in the mean time, once more to weigh well the contents of the royal letter of June 1662, and to give a more satisfactory answer. The council of Massachusetts wished to have the embarrassments and requests at once laid before them; but the commissioners preferred showing them a good example, by first subjugating the other colonies, in whom they expected to find a more tractable disposition, and postponed to the last their proceedings with the obstinate Bostoners.

The attack on New Amsterdam offers one of the many instances of breach of rights of the people, for which superior might alone can find grounds of justification. As soon as the English ships of war, with three hundred men on board, appeared in the harbour of Manhattoes, governor Stuvesant sent a committee with a request, couched in the most courteous terms, to know

what their demands were ; whereupon Colonel Nicholls, without further ado, demanded submission in the name of England ; assuring the inhabitants, at the same time, life, property, and civic rights.

Stuyvesant was not completely unprepared. The hostile plans of the English had long been spoken of. He had written the most urgent letters to his rulers, but the Company were resolved not to wage war, the expense of which they dreaded ; and the General States had purposely not entered into any kind of guarantee of their possessions. Nothing remained for the brave governor but to collect his own forces ; but where was he to find them ? Neither patron nor boor was willing to risk life and property for the company ; to summon the English villages to assist was, said Stuyvesant, " to bring the wooden horse into Troy." Thus the fortress remained unstrengthened ; the country around unarmed. The brave warrior, looking with ill-will on surrender, the necessity of which he himself felt, withheld from the burgomasters the letter of the English commander, offering such honourable conditions. The burgomasters, aldermen, and most respectable inhabitants assembled at the council-house, and declared for peace.

Besides the commissioners, Winthrop was also with the fleet, they having invited him, immediately after their arrival, to accompany them as mediator, as he was known to be on friendly terms with the authorities of New Amsterdam, highly respected by the Company, and it was hoped they could win him over to the English interests, as they relied on his gratitude for the favour he had lately received from the king. A letter

from him to the governor and town authorities decisively counselled them against all opposition, as being entirely useless; showing also the easy and favourable conditions of surrender without delay. The burgo-masters insisted on seeing the letter, when Stuyvesant, in a passion, tore it in pieces; and the following sitting was devoted to a solemn protest, on the part of the town, against the governor, instead of to measures against the enemy. In vain did Stuyvesant, feeling that a capitulation was inevitable, try to obtain some reservations: Nichols insisted on surrender, under *his* conditions. By the mediation of Winthrop, a treaty was concluded, which assured the men free exit, the Company their property, and, besides this, to the inhabitants free exercise of their religion, town privileges, and, for six months, free intercourse with their mother-country.\* The inhabitants of New Amsterdam saw, without regard, and without apparent loss, their duties as subjects transferred from the West Indian Company to an English prince. Few returned to Holland, although a year-and-a-half were allowed for their free departure; even Stuyvesant remained as an English subject in his little farm. Nichols, their new governor, was a wise and moderate man, who only gradually allowed the English forms to supplant the Dutch, and convert burgo-masters, schoppen, and village bailiffs into mayors, aldermen, and sheriffs.

The other Dutch possessions were soon subjugated, and a call from the English commissioner had previously impelled the English villages in Long Island to

\* Chalmers remarks that Colonel Nichols had no right to offer a condition opposed to an act of parliament (the Navigation Act).

revolt from Holland; but they soon saw themselves painfully deceived in the fulfilment of his promises, and dissensions and struggles followed, which lasted for years. The Dutch also saw their hopes of some democratic immunities vanish; they were governed with complete despotism, were obliged to take out new patents for their lands they had so long possessed, in order to raise an income for the commissioners, and enjoyed no favour which had not been stipulated for in the capitulation.\*

Connecticut was the first of the English colonies to which the commissioners went. It has already been mentioned that their approach had at last effected the union of Newhaven and Connecticut. Winthrop's personal acquaintance with them, his sagacity and mildness, and, moreover, the fact that he had so recently experienced the king's favour, smoothed the way for the commissioners, who, besides, knowing that they had before them a fight with Massachusetts, wished to make friends of the other colonies. They met with great coldness, but no opposition; although here an appeal to England could not previously have been talked of, they were yet wise enough to lay no obstacles in the way of the commissioners, when these opened a court in the colony. This was advantageous to them, for the only case of importance was a claim of the Marquis of Hamilton to a part of their land, which the commissioners decided in their favour. Winthrop had, in the name of the colonists, given up their claim to Long

\* Even these conditions were not faithfully kept, as before the expiration of the year the property of the Company was confiscated, under the pretence of the war breaking out.

Island, as they were too weak to stand against such powerful neighbours as the Duke of York; on the other hand, the slyness of the plenipotentiaries of Connecticut, who knew the country better than the duke's commissioners, succeeded in drawing a favourable boundary on the main land. The report of the commissioners to the king was highly favourable to them.

The weakness and poverty of Plymouth forbade any resistance. A single complaint against the government was laid before the commissioners, who at once acknowledged the unreasonableness of it. Indigence, and the hardships attendant on gaining a livelihood, fettered the civic ambition of the Plymouth colonists. The burthen of governing was so shunned, that the government had sometimes to compel serviceable people to become freemen, and consequently had already departed from their demands of religious communion. The commissioners were wily enough to draw the leaders of Plymouth into great temptation, hoping, by effecting their complete submission, to hold up to the other colonies an example worthy of following. To every complaint that they were too poor to renew their charter at their own expense, the commissioners offered to do it at theirs, provided the colony consented to allow the king, every three or five years, to choose a governor out of three men whom they should propose. The proposal was laid before the general assembly; but the worthy men saw the enemy of their freedom lurking there, and "with many thanks to the commissioners, and assurances of loyalty to the king," preferred to remain as they were.

The commissioners had much more to do in Rhode



Island. It is true they were here unwelcome neither to the governor nor to the people, and both—their aim being less political independence as a state, than the greatest possible civic and religious freedom for individuals—submitted without contest to their court of appeal. Gorton and his comrades seized this opportunity of glutting their long-withheld vengeance on Massachusetts, and poured in complaints against them on the impropriety they had committed more than twenty years ago. At the same time they also brought under notice the act of submission of the Narragansetts to the king, in 1664, which Gorton had once carried to England; and as the Indians also came with many complaints against Massachusetts, the commissioners, invading the charter of Rhode without further ceremony, arbitrarily seized it in the king's name, and named it his province. But Nichols, who had remained in New York, and without whose assent the others could do nothing, did not confirm their arrogant proceedings. In their intercourse with the Indians, old Roger Williams was of the greatest value to them, and they treated him with a reverence which does honour to them. The pliancy which they found in the Rhode Islanders—who, in fact, never dreamed of withdrawing their duty from Rhode Island, and who now found themselves doubly bound to the king by the charter they had just received—disposed the commissioners to report most favourably upon them.

Meanwhile, the general assembly of Mas- 1664  
sachusetts had come to the resolution “to Aug. 3.  
keep all loyalty and devotion to his majesty,  
and to keep to their patent, which they had bought so

dear, and had so long enjoyed in the presence of God and man." In pursuance of this, they resolved to raise two hundred men in the colony for the king's service. The king's letter was once more debated on; and the law relating to the requisitions for burgership had been so far extended, that a certificate of morality from a clergyman, and a certain degree of taxability, should in future render capable of freemanship. The other points were postponed till the return of the commission, which took place in the beginning of the following year, and then without Colonel Nichols, who remained in New York. The others passed through Boston, on their way to Plymouth, and business was postponed till the next day of election. In regard to this, the commissioners demanded that the council should this time call up *all* the male inhabitants; for they had come from England with the conviction that the government industriously kept back from the colonists the gracious sentiments of the king towards them, in order to make them rebellious towards him; and as in this general assembly the king's well-meaning views as to the commission were to be debated on, they considered they could scarcely have the assembly large enough. When it was quietly remarked, in answer to this absurd proposal, that the business of the season did not admit of it that women, children, and old men would thus be exposed to the attacks of the savages—Colonel Cartwright observed, in a passion, that the proclamation was so reasonable that he who opposed it was a traitor; and a summons in their name forthwith invited all the male inhabitants of Massachusetts, about 5,000, to appear at the day of election.

In the meanwhile a petition from the general as-

sembly was on its way to the king, in which they begged for an alteration in this regulation, in the humble tone which the time prescribed towards the king, but in the proud spirit which animated their acts, and with the eloquence which the feeling of injured rights gave them. Letters to influential great men—to Clarendon, who passed for a friend to the colonies, to Robert Boyle, whom religious bonds united to them, as well as to others—were to support them in this undertaking. They regarded the royal commission as a decided invasion of their rights, as a violation of their charter. The commission, consisting of four strangers, of whom one was their notorious enemy, was empowered to hear all complaints sent in against them, to settle all contests, arrange all misunderstandings—in short, to sit in judgment upon them, and according to judgment to pronounce sentence. How could they reconcile this with the original letter of constitution, the basis of which was to name their rulers, choose their judges, draw up their own laws? Their petition to the king, to spare them such invasion of their rights and immunities, which he had repeatedly confirmed, was urgent. They recalled to his mind all his gracious promises, all their sacrifices, their struggles with the horrors and privations of the wilderness; they pointed out to him the poverty of the country, which could not enrich, nay, not even support rulers forced on them, so that only loss could accrue to the king from it; they showed, lastly, the evil prospect, how it was to be dreaded that the people, robbed of their freedom and injured in their rights, would rather go forth and seek a new home than bear this; and they did not fail to remark how difficult

it would be to find other cultivators for a land but little fertile, and harassed by savages. "Sire," they added, with the ardent expression of innocent men heavily oppressed and persecuted, "the omniscient God knows that our greatest ambition is to seek a poor retired life, in a corner of the earth, without injuring God or man. We did not come to the wilderness to seek great things; and when any one comes after us to seek such, he will find himself bitterly deceived. We keep within our bounds, and do not meddle with outward matters (!); and a proper dependence and submission to your majesty, *according to our charter*, our hearts are far from wishing to deny. We studiously yield all due submission to your majesty, not out of dread of your anger, but for conscience sake; and should Divine Providence ever offer an opportunity in which we can in an honest manner show, according to our abilities, our dutiful love to your majesty, we hope we shall cheerfully embrace it; but it is a great misfortune that we are put in such a bad case, that we can give no other evidence of our submission and loyalty, than by destroying our own being, which nature teaches us to support; by giving up our immunities, which are much dearer to us than life, and for which, if we had ever feared to be deprived of them, we would not have wandered from the home of our fathers to this end of the earth, nor have expended our labour and wealth on it—to say nothing of having thus been involved in a difficult and dangerous war with the most martial races, and having to support the loss of many a dear friend; and the profoundest human invention cannot discover a more certain way to possession, than to receive a royal present from so great

a prince, under his great seal, which gives the greatest security which can be arrived at in human affairs."

The rejection by the colonists of Massachusetts of a royal commission to examine into their interior matters, has been very differently decided upon by the party writers of that time, and later historians. Even some of their most determined opponents have rightly prized *the idea of justice* which lay at the bottom of their refusal. Chalmers remarks, that out of such royal commissions invasion of the rights of Englishmen might arise, which no prerogative of the crown durst narrow, and that only an act of parliament could justify them. It is, however, very doubtful whether the fathers of Massachusetts would have considered the parliament, any more than the king, entitled to encroach on their charter; but they not only defended their rights as Englishmen, but the privileges of their charter, which, if they had forfeited it by their conduct during the republican epoch, had been recently confirmed even by the king in most express terms. It prescribed them definite boundaries, allowed them to choose their own rulers, to make their own laws on the sole condition that these were not opposed to the laws of England, justified them in self-defence, and reserved nothing for the king but a fifth part of any noble metals that might be found. There required to be no particular mention made of submission in a charter which was destined for a corporation in England, such submission being, in fact, presupposed. It does not appear as if the king, or rather the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, from whom the step emanated, had it in view to injure the patent in any

way; claimed in England by manifold matters, apparently of much greater weight, tired of the many complaints and contradictory reports, the king, for the moment, *wished* sincerely to be on the best terms with the colonists of New England, whose rebellious spirit he hoped to be able to tame by smooth words and gentle concession. The letter given to the commissioners was accordingly drawn up in the most gracious terms, and expressed the conviction that his plenipotentiaries would make all misunderstandings, errors and neglects smooth again.

Accordingly the impression which the petition from Massachusetts made on Charles and Clarendon was in the highest degree unfavourable. It was not directed against the commissioners, but against the commission. The colonists represented themselves as injured in their rights, spoke of becoming outcasts, hinted at broken promises, &c., while the king had repeated to them, in the most gracious terms, that it was not his intention to deprive them of the smallest of their rights assured to them by the charter; and they urged, as an encroachment of their rights, a step which he never doubted for one moment that his prerogative entitled him to, a step by which he wished to proclaim his supremacy in the most paternal manner! An immediate answer from Sir William Morris, secretary of state, communicated the great displeasure of the king, who ascribed the factious spirit entirely to one party, and openly expressed the wish of his master, that John Endicott should not be again elected governor; but the obstinate, unbending old man was already gathered to his fathers, and, ere the arrival of the letter, he stood before a higher judge.

Clarendon also, in his answer, reproved them sharply ; he saw in their objection not to the commissioners, who had not as yet acted, but to the commission, and the right to send it, a distinct violation of the royal authority. The step was also condemned in England even by their friends : Robert Boyle, to whom they had applied for his intercession, expressed his astonishment at their perverted views of their position to the crown of England. Some of their greatest patrons saw the matter in the same light. "All," according to Clarendon's expression, "being astonished at their urging the recall without having anything to charge the commissioners with."

We may see from this, that even among the greatest statesmen in England, the political feeling in the seventeenth century was not yet sufficiently developed to remark how unconstitutional such a commission was. The feeling of the colonists was doubtless only correct, because their own interests were touched ; they were resolved to defend their charter to the very letter. In fact, had the commissioners confined themselves to examining whether they had overstepped this—as, for instance, remained within the bounds allotted to them, made no laws contrary to those of England, &c.—the Massachusetters must have submitted, as in duty bound ; and it was in this feeling that, as we shall presently see, they fulfilled the wishes of the commissioners on this point, lazily and unwillingly it is true, but without offering any direct opposition : as, for instance, their demand for a map to fix the boundaries, for a revision of the code of laws, &c. ; but when the commissioners interfered with their private matters, when their legal claims were to be tried before a court of appeal which

at once threatened to annihilate their standing, every thing seemed to stand on the cast, and they confidently fell back on their charter, which assured them their own administration of justice without reserve. "If you had consented to it," wrote the aged Davenport, "you would have torn down with your own hands the house which wisdom built for you and yours."

The determined men of Massachusetts accordingly well knew what they did when they conditionally gave up some points to the commission, and defended others even to open mutiny. The views of our time, generally considered, have materially expanded, and been enlightened in the course of the preceding century. A statesman could not now be so easily found who, even in theory, would set the will of the sovereign above the law. Hence an explanation of the principle of the fathers of Massachusetts might be useful.

They divided civic submission into the *necessary* and the *voluntary*; necessary, from birth and residence; voluntary, by treaty. A man is necessarily subject to the government and laws of the land in which he lives. Emigration abrogates this kind of subjection, and is only to be legally prevented when it is injuring and weakening the state; but it is even then allowable, when the first right of man, freedom of conscience, is refused. Voluntary submission ensues by treaty; such a treaty was their charter. The land on which they dwelt, soil and lordship were their own: first, by the present of the king; secondly, by double purchase. The lordship was assured to them by the charter, and the purchase money paid to the savages, who were recognized as the original masters. The soil they procured and tilled



solely by their own means, without ever having received the smallest support from the mother country, either in transport or protection of the population. Nay, we shall soon see that on the breaking out of a war, they were left entirely to their own exertions, whilst the other colonies, like pet children, enjoyed English protection. The two chief reasons for the independence of a colony, the cost of purchasing the ground for the foundation by the mother country, and her protection in danger, were absent here: the treaty by their charter was thus all that remained of their subjection.

An intellectual historian of the present day, who has paid particular attention to this affair, seems still to be directly at fault when he asserts, "they derided the right of England to the soil, under the pretence of first discovery, as being a popish principle, descending from Alexander VI., and supported themselves, as of more importance, on the actual possession and purchase from the natives."

So far were they from deriding it, that they never once called it in doubt; summoned Roger Williams before the court because he had objected to it, and treated the Dutch, who could fall back upon real possession and purchase, as mere intruders and usurpers. Their purchase of land from the Society of Plymouth, and their adoption of the king's charter, sufficiently prove that they acknowledged his right to give or sell it. They bought the land from the Indians, as well to secure themselves from their claims, as from such reasons of justice as would have led them in England to buy estates from the owner without necessarily overlooking the king's being lord of the manor. In fact, we find in the

early history of New England not a feature to justify this assertion.

1665 Accordingly, when, in the following spring, the commissioners met in Boston (Nichols being last, and his arrival having been waited for, as the most respected and important) to proceed to active steps, they found the men of Massachusetts decided. Three weeks previously, the aged Endicott, seventy-six years old, had passed away from this world; but his defunct spirit still breathed in the assembly which, in the May following his death, was formed by a new election. Bellingham, of similar views, but more selfish and cold, and not less hateful to the crown, was elected governor, which continued for seven years, when he died. The now unbroken nomination of this same man to the highest place seems to indicate that the jealousy of the people and the clergy, which had forced Winthrop from a post no one filled better than he, had grown much milder.

The history of the proceedings of the commissioners with the assembly, in which, instead of smoothing the difficulties, the seed of new strifes and misunderstandings was sown in the open furrows, is highly unsatisfactory. The commissioners, conscious of the hateful position they held in the eyes of the people, who detested as a flatterer every one who showed them particular attention, prepared for opposition from the leaders, however much reverence these might show. They seem to have begun in an irritated and mistrustful disposition. In spite of the repeated attempts of the assembly to have the commission at once laid before them, they brought it forward in portions, and in sharp words. All

personal intercourse was avoided; the demands of the king were sent in, written on separate letters for each point. They once more gave the assembly the individual demands of the royal letter of 1662 (on the fulfilment of which his favour hung) to consider upon; and the preparing of a new map was demanded, to regulate the northern boundaries, and settle the claims of Colonel Mason and F. Gorges. They wished to have all the disputes with the Narragansetts laid before them, as the satisfying of these, who had repeatedly demanded a copy of the code of laws, and complained to his majesty, was an especial part of their task. Finally, they wished to know what the colony had done for the conversion of the Indians. Their reception also of the regicides, and the violation of the navigation act, were discussed. In all these points the government was able to give satisfactory promises or exculpatory or evasive answers. But the most difficult point was yet to come; one of the instructions of the commissioners was, that they should receive no complaints against the authorities except on what was contrary to the charter, &c. But it was left to their discretion to decide what was included by this.

Now, among the complaints against the severity of Massachusetts were two cases, which the commissioners considered themselves bound to decide upon,—one was a criminal—the other a civil case; both occasioned by a violation of the navigation act. But the government protested strongly against this, and the commissioners at last sent them the simple question—Did they recognize the authority of his majesty? Whereupon the others appealed to their charter, and his majesty's assurance not to interrupt them in the use of it.

The commissioners, convinced that nothing would result from a mere parley, and even made more severe and embittered than the Massachusetters, who kept to the most moderate tone without wincing a finger's breadth from that position that they had taken up, resolved to proceed to action. They accordingly announced to the assembly their determination to hold a court next morning, in the house of a man devoted to them, and summoned, besides those concerned, the governor and government of Massachusetts to appear before their tribunal. The latter protested once more, but the commissioners would not draw back. A herald was then sent through the streets of Boston, who, with a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed thrice aloud a declaration of the government in the name of his majesty,—“That they did not acknowledge the court of appeal by his majesty's venerable commissioners,” it being an invasion of the royal charter, and that they herewith forbade every one to give effect to the summons.

This necessarily decided the point; the commissioners desisted from their purpose, declared in an enraged tone that they would no longer waste any trouble on them, and only demanded the making known, as well of the king's letter and communication, as of the whole proceeding. In their book of laws there were not less than twenty-six points which they demanded to have altered in the king's name. Many alterations, however, consisted only of words, as, for instance, changing the word commonwealth into colony, the insertion of the king's name, &c. The days of the king's return were to be celebrated as a festival; that of the execution of Charles I. as a day of feasting and humiliation. As an understood

thing, the forbiddal of Christmas festivals, which was completely opposed to English laws, was to be abrogated.

The government, without giving any answer to this last point, hereupon declared to the commissioners that, for their satisfaction, they had fixed the next day for the reconsideration of a certain process, which had really given occasion to all their proceedings. But the commissioners considered it to be unheard-of, to wish to be at once accusers and judges. They also rejected the tender of the government, to explain to them why they (the government) had taken possession of the east lands, and, with the exception of Colonel Nichols, who went to New York, betook themselves to the seat of the dispute in order to hear the complaints. On the Piscataqua they found a disordered state of affairs. The spirit of Massachusetts was abroad among the people, and the government equally decided. However, some malcontents allowed themselves to be persuaded into signing a petition to the king against the usurpation of Massachusetts. As, in the mean time, the war with France had broken out, they wished to have the harbour fortified; but at this moment a stern command came from Massachusetts to all the inhabitants of the district, "to hearken at their peril" to this usurped authority. So much the more was there to do in Maine. Here Massachusetts had only a small number attached to her, and could not defend her claims with a good conscience. The inhabitants were just as little inclined to hear any thing of the heir of Gorges, who, a short time previously, had again sent his agents to take the oath from the colonists in his name; they wished to be immediately under the king; and the commissioners readily listening to the voice of

the majority in a case which flattered them—for Sir Robert Carr already saw himself governor—left Gorges' claims unnoticed, deposed the officials of Massachusetts and installed new ones, in the name of the king, till he should confirm or reject them. This tottering state of things, however, soon gave way to a different one.

The king heard, with deep disappointment, of the total failure of a regulation which it appears was really well meant, and calculated for the weal of the colonies. Even before the affairs in the east colonies were brought to a conclusion, he recalled the commissioners, in order to hear their personal report. With the exception of Nichols, the choice of the men to whom was confided the difficult task of settlement could not have been more unlucky. Maverick enjoyed but little respect in the colony, and at his landing in Plymouth gave offence by a quarrel, which Sir Robert Carr had to accommodate. Carr himself, a passionate, irritable man, was not wanting in brutality. In New Hampshire he threatened to hang a harmless planter, who, it seems, had been wanting in due respect. In Boston he and Maverick had some further quarrels with the servants of justice. One anecdote, unimportant in itself, is so characteristic of the time and the men, that it is worthy of a place here. One Saturday evening these gentlemen with some companions sat tippling in a wine-house longer than the law in Boston permitted, a constable therefore came and warned them, for which his thanks were to be cud-gelled home by Sir Robert Carr and servants. They, however, left the inn, and crossed the way to a young merchant's of the name of Kellond, one of the king's most devoted servants in all Boston, and who had lately

been commissioned to follow the regicides on account of his known loyalty. Here appeared, certainly somewhat uncalled for, the constable, staff in hand, who declared he was happy to find them here; for had they been on the other side of the street, he would certainly have taken them with him, and he could not help wondering that his majesty's servants should have beaten his majesty's officials. "I beat him!" roared Sir Robert Carr, "and am ready to do it again." "It is well," replied Mason, such was the constable's name, "that it was not me, for I would then at once have carried you before the authorities." "What!" roared the other, in a fury, "dost thou dare to meddle with the king's authorities?" "And if it had been the king himself," answered the other undaunted, "he must have followed me." Whereupon Maverick called out, "Treason! Mason, thou shalt hang for this before the year is out." Sir Robert Carr called Sir Thomas Temple, and the others present, to witness, and a letter from Maverick informed the governor next morning of what had happened. But the others, when they had slept off the debauch, rather wished not to urge matters too far, as they had not played the most respectable part, and Maverick was induced, the day before the court sat, to withdraw the accusation; as it appeared there, Mason had only spoken rashly, not traitorously. The government, however, regarded the affair as too serious to be let fall, and it was brought before court; but as every thing proved that Mason had spoken without "treasonable views," his offence was not considered to be a capital crime, and he escaped with a reprimand.

In the mean time, Bennett, the beaten constable, had

preferred a complaint against Sir Richard Carr and his servants ; and the reader may easily imagine that the legal acts necessarily arising out of this, injured the commissioner in the opinion of the people. At his departure his fury broke out openly against the Massachusettsers ; he told the officials, angrily, that the king's pardon for their offences during the late rebellion depended entirely on their future good conduct, and threatened the head men with the punishment which had fallen on so many in England : namely, the gallows or the axe. Colonel Cartwright, intellectual, and better fitted for his post, had made himself detested throughout his entire stay by the disgusting and irritable manner in which he rejected all attentions and courteousness. From the very beginning, prejudiced and mistrustful, and now more than ever embittered by the manifold instances of ill will he met with from the people, he was completely unfitted to compose differences which the clearest head and most skilful hand could not attempt without danger, or touch without injury.

1660      The commissioners had scarcely left, when a letter from the king announced the outbreak of hostilities with the French, and recommended them rules for their self-defence, and a campaign against the colonists of Canada. Whilst artillery and weapons were sent to New York, the colonists of New England were abandoned to their own defence, and not a shilling of English money was expended in supporting them. Could their independence have been more distinctly acknowledged ?

They regarded it in this light, and demanded neither protection nor support. At their own expense they



fitted out a couple of ships to watch the coast: but to conquer Canada for the king was to exact too much from them, and they excused themselves, in a submissive letter, with the impossibility of going four hundred miles over rocks and howling deserts to take the field against the French.

If ever the colonists were justified in regarding themselves as the favoured children of God, it was now. Among the great number of malcontents, as well in Massachusetts as in the east lands, many had felt themselves constrained, by accepting the commission, to apply to the king with new petitions and complaints against them. Few arrived; thirty such documents perished in storms at sea. Many of those who had loudly showed their displeasure, and had been most active with reports against them to the commissioners, were soon after seized with serious illnesses, or died suddenly by unexpected disasters. Sir Robert Carr was carried off the day after his landing; and Cartwright, who as secretary had committed all to paper, and thus seemed in possession of the necessary testimony, and one of their most dangerous accusers, fell, on his way home, into the hands of the Dutch, who maltreated and plundered him of all his papers, which he at a later period in vain attempted to regain.

Such a visible confirmation by heaven heightened the spirits and the love of freedom among the Massachusettsers. Till now, they could really build upon their right to the very letter; and though a sounder policy and milder wisdom would have taught them to gratify the king, whom they recognized as their lord, in the reasonable demands which he made in his letter of 1662,

yet by the commission their immunities were evidently set upon the cast, and their wise consistency and firmness consequently only arouse our wonder. But, made arrogant by their victory, they wanted to go further, and for the first time refused obedience, which they repeatedly declared to be their duty by acknowledging the royal supremacy.

1666 At the time the king recalled the commissioners, a royal letter was sent to the colonists, expressive of the king's displeasure at their refusal to acknowledge a commission destined for their weal, and ordering them to send without delay four or five agents to England, in order to lay before him the reasons for their conduct, and to learn from himself how little he was disposed to restrict them in their freedom. His Majesty would himself decide upon the complaints, denunciations, and proposals. Among the agents, Bellingham and Hawthorn, the heads of the freedom party since Endicott's death, were particularly demanded.

No demand could be more just than this, no ordinance more merciful. If the king remained their lord by virtue of a treaty, there must be some way left for him to examine whether they had fulfilled the conditions of this treaty. His messengers they would not acknowledge; what arrangement could be more reasonable?—what other way of escape remained than to cite their representatives to England?

The commotion which this letter excited was great. The assembly was called together in September, when Maverick handed it in to the governor, it having come in the packet to the commissioners. Broadstreet, moderate, and cautious, rightly urged compliance with the king's

wishes. He was supported by tSoughton and Dudley the latter the son of the old enemy of the heretics, an ambitious man, of ambiguous opinions, and little like his iron father. Bad motives impelled him now ; he gave great offence by defending the necessity of the prerogative with the laws, not against the laws. The heads of the opposite party were Hawthorne and Willoughby. The latter was vice-governor ; the former, so long as he was only among the deputies, restlessly attacking the standing of the government, and, now that he had found a place among the assistants, just as active against England. Bellingham, the governor, seems to have remained neutral ; his selfishness and want of true patriotism shattered the attempts of the wiser and more moderate. If they had had magnanimity enough, as defenders of their country, to confront a probable personal danger, the proposal of that party would have passed ; but no one ventured to say directly they should go. The sending of the agents demanded was only spoken of in general terms, and these two men took good care, not by professions of readiness to lay the storm they had so studiously conjured up.

The party which voted for giving effect to the royal command was more numerous among the other inhabitants of rank than among the government officials, The proposal to raise the impost was opposed in the assembly, on the ground that it was to be feared, with the discontent among the people, it would create a revolt. From four different places came petitions to the assembly to be obedient. They were signed by about two hundred respectable men, and couched in the best spirit ; but a sharp reproof for their officious med-

dling was their answer. The government of this growing republic did not acknowledge the right of petitioning among subjects, which even tyrants do not reject. Even some of their clergy were for the mission, and wished that the two agents particularly asked for should go, for conscience sake ; but they were outvoted by the others. No wonder the full difficulty of the question was felt, and assistance from God was repeatedly implored, to relieve their minds. A whole forenoon's sitting was spent in prayer, *six clergymen praying*.

Whether with such an expenditure of outward piety they prayed in the right spirit, may be learned from the result, which consisted of a letter sent to the secretary of state, wherein they circumstantially answered respecting the Canadian question, and at the same time mentioned that they had received a letter from Mr. Maverick, without superscription or royal seal, a copy, as he said, of an ordinance of his majesty respecting the colony of Massachusetts, the authenticity of which, however, was not very clear to them. Moreover, they had sufficiently exposed to his majesty the reasons for their conduct, and the best agents would not be in a position to do it better.

It does not appear in what way they hoped to remove the hateful impression of their disobedience from their own consciences. Only Broadstreet and Major Dennison, who as one of the higher officers attended the assembly, had their non-consent entered in the acts. But we do not find that one of the six clergymen who had prayed for their illumination called out to them, "Put away lying, let every man speak truth of his neighbours." A solemn confirmation by the commis-

sioners, still in New York, of the genuineness of the letter, remained unnoticed.

The above-mentioned letter expressed the king's wish that in the other colonies, especially in Maine, all should remain as his commissioners had ordered it, until he on full examination should decide upon it; but this did not prevent the officers of Massachusetts, after the departure of the commissioners, from seizing the opportunity afforded by the petition of a small number of puritans, of again taking possession of the whole province, *nolens volens*. Even those whom no solemn bond united to Massachusetts, were obliged to confess that it was only after this district had become Yorkshire, that is, an integrant part of Massachusetts, that peace, justice, and quiet had been known there. Still the commissioners of Massachusetts, who arrived 1668 there accompanied by armed force, found, especially among the officials appointed by the commissioners, obstinate resistance, and only by severe measures and violence succeeded in again establishing their rule; with which, however, the people, on the whole, were soon reconciled, on account of the real advantages it offered them.

Now, while the government of Massachusetts, with such good right or such arrogant defiance, insisted on the very letter of their charter, they wished, on the other hand, to neglect nothing that could reconcile them with the injured king, so far as they could do so without giving up their claims. There was no want of assurances of their faith and loyalty, in addresses as full of humility and submission as the style of the day could make them. Nor were they satisfied merely with words; a ship-load of spars for masts, the freight of

which alone cost them £600, was sent him as a present from the colony ; the royal fleet at West India was victualled ; the expense of both being covered by voluntary contributions. The subjects of the king, also, who had fled from before the victorious French at St. Kitts, met in Massachusetts with a brotherly reception ; and when the great fire of 1666 laid half London in ashes, all the churches in the colonies of New England were ready with prayers and gifts for the sufferers ; and sums of importance in a country where men had little more than a competence, were sent across the sea to the mother country, which was still dear and holy to the second generation of emigrants.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

CONDITION OF THE COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.  
FROM 1668 TO 1675.

IF immediate and visible results could decide the right or wrong of a step, the colonists of Massachusetts might flatter themselves with having merited the favour of the Highest, by their refusal of obedience to their king. Accustomed to see, in outward dispensations, his favour or anger after their own narrow ideas, they felt with joyful pride that the strong arm of the king had been crippled by the stronger arm of the King of kings, in order to protect his people. Four years passed away before the results ensued which the more cautious of them had dreaded; and the colonists, left to their own discretion, flourished visibly while neglected by England.

The king, indeed, was highly irritated at the position which the Massachusetters had taken up towards him, and a grudge settled in his mind, which only waited for an opportunity to break out; but the time was not yet come. The plague, and the great fire in London, with their fearful, destructive results, for some time absorbed all the care of the powers in England; added to which were Clarendon's fall, Charles being constantly occupied with the nothings and intrigues of his court, the war with the Dutch and French, the want of

1667

ready money, and lastly, but chiefly, <sup>making</sup> as a present  
ture with his parliament.\* All this for some time kept  
such minor affairs as the colonies entirely in the back-  
ground; and the New Englanders, after having for  
years hated and dreaded the authority of the king, were  
now to despise it.

In the king's council the colonies, and the refractori-  
ness of Massachusetts, had been repeatedly discussed.  
A special chamber was established for trade and the  
plantations,† which busied itself in endeavouring to pro-  
cure information as to the state of things in New Eng-  
land; the king, also, was occasionally present at their  
sittings: he himself also expressed his fear, that they  
who would not acknowledge his supremacy, would soon  
burst the bonds of submission. Proposals of different  
kinds were made: some wanted a threatening letter to  
be sent; others, who knew better the "peevish and  
touchy" disposition of the colonists, were for conciliatory  
measures and a courteous missive. Cartwright was cited  
before this board; but his account of the defiance, obsti-  
nacy, and plentiful resources of Massachusetts, annulled  
for the moment all propositions, and an amnesty seemed  
the only thing that remained. It was resolved to send a  
commissioner to New England, under the pretence of  
settling the northern boundary, but really to inform  
himself exactly of the strength of Massachusetts, and

\* In 1674, a friend wrote to Governor Leverett: "The truth is, the ad-  
journment of parliament, when it had so many useful things to do, arouses  
great discontent; and this, together with the European matters, touching  
the king's enormous debts, on which they have not come to a decision as to  
how they are to be paid, claims all their attention; so that they have no  
time for such little affairs as yours."—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 144.

† Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.



her capacity for making herself independent. The general prosperity of the colony, the activity of its trade, the great order which reigned there in all things, but especially its perverseness, had spread in England exaggerated ideas of its wealth and resources. How much men were deceived, as to the resources of the colonists, may be seen from a plan which had, a short time previously, been discussed,—namely, that of making the Duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, possessor of Maine and New Hampshire, in order to raise an income of £5000 or more from these two provinces, which at that time possessed a population of about eight thousand whites. None of these proposals passed. The king forgot his colonies, and everything else, over a pretty face or the quarrel of two maids of honour; and the dread of taking a profitless step prevented him from taking any step at all, till years had rolled away.

The continued violations of the Navigation Act by the colonists awakened more and more the jealousy of the English merchants. They stormed the parliament with complaints; and the checking of the free-trade of the colonies with each other was the 1672 result: the point was, to make them as useful as possible to the mother-country. An impost to be raised for the king, in the year of the restoration, in all the realms of the crown, under the name of Pound and Tin-money, had not been extended to the colonies, as they did not consider themselves bound by any statute in which they were not expressly named; but now the time was come when the parliament began to consider them taxable. One of its acts fixed the same entry-duties for the production of the colonies, in their trade with one an-

other, as were paid in England; and these taxes did not accrue to the colonies, but to the crown. However, through the evasion of this law, not only by the merchants but by the bulk of the buyers, less money was raised than paid for the collectors sent from England; in fact, these were restricted to the duties to be raised. The immediate object of this restriction seems to have been, not so much an income for the king, as a favour to the English merchants, who won by the loss of the others.

Even the working-up of their own productions was forbidden to the colonists; not merely when it could lead to competition with England, but even for their own use. All manufacture was forbidden.

In spite of all these checks the colonies grew and prospered, and the union was renewed by the three,

1672 Rhode Island being again excluded. Mention has already been made of the poverty and miserable existence of Plymouth; but this must not be considered as indigence. Plymouth had as few paupers as the other colonies; every one had a competence, but nothing more. Many communities could not scrape together a salary for one paid preacher, and had to make use of a "gifted brother." The unfruitfulness of the soil thwarted their landlords; the want of capital prevented all extensive commercial undertakings. Thomas Prince, long their governor after the death of Bradford, was, like him, a man of clear understanding; and though himself without scientific education, was yet the most zealous promoter of schools and other means of education. That in the seventy-one years of their independent existence the choice of a superior only fell on six

persons, Carver included, who could only fill this place some months, gives evidence of the steady opinion of the colonists, and of the absence of that democratic tendency which characterized the first twenty years of the history of Massachusetts. Their population, spread through fourteen towns, was calculated at this time at about 7000 souls.

Connecticut throve wonderfully under the blessings of the charter, and here the advantages of the union had long been found. Long Island was indeed lost, and the English settled there. Emigrants from Connecticut did not succeed, with all their efforts, in returning under the lordship of this colony ; but the boundaries assured to them by their charter, on the mainland, east of the Pawcatuck ; westward a line ten miles from the Hudson, they steadfastly defended, and occasionally made irruptions on the Narragansett land ; where Rhode Island, the weaker of the two, could make no resistance. The new governor of New York, Edmund Andros, made an attempt to extend the boundaries of the province confided to him as far as the Connecticut, in accordance with the Duke of York's original patent. With this view he came, accompanied by armed men, to the harbour of Saybrook ; but Captain Bull, at the head of some militia, advanced against him without delay, and hoisted the king's standard. Meanwhile a protest came from the general assembly, which was then sitting ; but Andros, without taking any notice of it, landed, and summoned the fort to surrender in the king's name. He then wished to have the duke's patent read before the people, who had flocked together ; when Bull also, in the king's name, ordered the secretary to stop. He

began again ; but Bull repeated his order in the voice of a Stentor, and made him hold his tongue, and then, with a firm voice, read aloud the protest of the assembly. Andros, not prepared for such resolution, and probably not authorized to use violence, was obliged to give way, and never renewed his attempt.

Rhode Island also enjoyed the advantages of her charter, and compelled the sister colonies to acknowledge her. A colony in which every one did as he liked, and very little common feeling was to be found, only developed itself slowly. The government, which restricted itself to a certain negative behaviour—that is, remained satisfied with preventing evil and checking disturbances—showed thus but little activity ; and the plantations of Rhode Island and Providence remained behind the other colonies in respect to schools and other useful institutions. Under all temptations and obstacles, the spirit of Rhode Island was essentially the same : the freest possible development of the powers of the individual, and complete freedom of conscience, in so far as it was not in opposition to civic duties, and did not interfere with the civic liberties of others. From the consistent carrying out of the first principle arose a certain democratic state, which in some instances clashed with the other. Thus, for instance, they would not suffer the quakers in the country, because they refused to carry arms, and thus fulfil one of their civic duties ; but the people, among whom this sect found many leaders, rose in a mass, and the order to confiscate their goods had to be retracted. The influence which the quakers have gradually acquired in this part of New England, whilst they were in other colonies an object of detesta-

tion, and which was vainly combated by Roger Williams in his writings, contributed not a little to widen the chasm between Rhode Island and the neighbouring colonies.

Despite all the definitions of their charter, and an arrangement brought about by the commissioners between Rhode Island and Plymouth, the purchases in the Narragansett country by subjects of other colonies, gave rise to continual disturbances and interference. Roger Williams, in the evening of his life, spoke in vain to the governments of Connecticut and Plymouth in sharp but loving words:—"Truly," he said, "it is a monstrous shame that countrymen, in a wilderness among savages, acknowledging God, the Saviour, the life eternal, and the nothingness of this, cannot be content with their huge tracts of land, which like dishes full of dainties are set before them, but take away their neighbour's morsel, or even tear away his crust; a hard crust it is, on account of the constant need and the torment from the Indians."

Massachusetts now reigned undisturbed from the far side of the Charles River to Casco Bay. The inhabitants of Yorkshire, that is of Maine to the south of the Kennebeck, accustomed themselves to the government, and got over the vexation occasioned by the spirit of the government in the contemplation of the advantages which an energetically exercised justice, suitable school establishments, small taxes, and powerful protection against the natives procured them. But the plantations of Piscataqua—called Norfolk, as being a district of Massachusetts—were more closely united to the powerful sister. The town of Portsmouth, grown

rich by active trade under the protection of Massachusetts, voluntarily gave in a yearly contribution of £60 towards the support of the college of Cambridge, an institution which the commissioners feared would educate as many schismatics against the church as the corporation would rebels against the king. Cambridge was, in fact, the foster-child of all the colonies, and even Plymouth with its small means had given donations. The growing opulence of Massachusetts was also of advantage to it. Among the nonconformists driven away from England, was many a name not without importance in the realm of theological or classical learning. Charles Chauncey, who had been professor in the university of the English Cambridge, was seventeen years president of the American. The institution was now organized anew; its privileges enlarged, and the important sum of £2000 raised for new buildings. One division of this institution was specially devoted to the education of the Indians.

The ten years preceding 1675 may well be termed the hey-day of prosperity in the colonies. The number of inhabitants, Maine and New Hampshire included, scarcely exceeded thirty-five thousand souls, whilst the united population of the other colonies was about ten thousand less; consequently the white population of all New England at this time may be computed at about fifty to sixty thousand souls. Let us now recollect that the number of emigrants in 1642 is given at twenty-one thousand, in which the Europeans who had already settled in Maine and New Hampshire were not included; and thus we can fairly calculate on there being about twenty-five thousand inhabitants in all New England.

The population had thus scarcely more than doubled itself in more than thirty years; but then emigration from Europe had almost ceased during that time, and this number is therefore to be regarded as purely and solely the natural increase of the four or five thousand families who were in the country in 1642. Hutchinson, who wrote a short time before the war of independence, says that from this date up to his time more had emigrated from, than to, New England.

But though the population of this country was so thin, activity, diligence, economy, and endurance, even now the virtues by which the New Englanders distinguish themselves from their neighbours of the south,—had assured to one part an independent competency, and to the other the means of supporting life. Really rich there were but few, perhaps none, according to our ideas: about fifteen merchants scattered through the commercial towns of Portsmouth, Salem, Boston and Charlestown, of whom each possessed not less than £5,000, and not a third of them £10,000, were considered the richest. On the other hand, there were about five hundred scattered through the whole colony, who possessed about £3,000, which, with the high rate of interest and the simple manners of the time, secured them a comfortable income. Ships from all parts of the world came to the haven of Massachusetts; no notice was taken of the Navigation Act—government and people were convinced that acts of parliament were only binding in so far as they agreed with their charter. Vessels cheaply and quickly built in the colonies of New England—few of more than a hundred tons, scarcely one of more than two hundred and fifty—went to Mada-

gascar and Guinea; to Portugal, Spain and even to the Hanse towns. Massachusetts took care of the little colonies who had no trade except with one another, or with New York and the more southern colonies, as also those of West India, and willingly allowed their goods to be brought in Boston ships, which they must otherwise have received through vessels laden in England, and paid double for. The western trade in the mother country was visibly endangered.

Agriculture had grown equally, blooming by industrious cultivation, small taxes, and perfect peace. Throughout the whole land opulent landlords rejoiced in convenient houses and well-tilled fields. A rich, hospitable kind of life prevailed among them. The settlements on that part of Connecticut which flowed within the boundary line of Massachusetts, had increased to four, and formed the district of Hampshire. Through all New England, with the exception of these plantations on the Connecticut, the great majority of their towns were built by the sea, and not fewer than a hundred and twenty were now in existence. But the way from Boston and its circle of blooming villages to Connecticut lay through a howling wilderness, broken only by a few lonely settlements. The Indians who lived among them, in the service of the whites, or in their own villages, were dreaded by none.

Among the towns, Boston was distinguished by its greatness and wealth, but not by beauty, as the streets first built were crooked and full of corners. The houses were mostly of wood, but few being of brick; there were not twenty of them which contained more than ten rooms, and in all New England not one with



twenty. The number of inhabitants scarcely exceeded seven thousand; and in 1673 there were said to be fifteen hundred families. The manner of living had not lost its aristocratic, patriarchal character, although democratic features, the natural results of republican forms, began to show themselves.\* Sober simplicity and religious severity still held society within the strictest bounds. There were no musicians by trade; the opening of a dancing school was once attempted, but soon broke down; but a fencing school succeeded. A great deal was read in 1685; there were already five booksellers' shops, which, however, had to provide for all the colonies. Boston, though the seat of government and the residence of the governor, was not on this account necessarily the dwelling-place of the assistants. The council, which had two regular sittings in the week, and was in extraordinary cases called together by the governor, was composed of those assistants who were at the moment in Boston. None of them had more than £30 salary; but during the sittings a stable was hired for them, as well as for the deputies, at the cost of the commonweal. In the same way the judges were only paid during the sittings. Besides them, only the lower officials, as clerks, constables, and the governor, had a fixed salary. The expenses of government never amounted to £2,000, and were more than covered by a poll-tax of 1s. 8d. on

\* Winthrop relates an anecdote tending to show that the idea of equality sprang, as it were, from the very soil of the wilderness. When such an unexpected want of money ensued, a gentleman dismissed his servant, with the intimation that he could no longer pay him his wages. 'But you can give me them in cattle,' replied the servant. 'And when I have no more cattle?' said the gentleman. 'Then,' said the other, 'you can work back your cattle by serving me.'"

every grown person, a property-tax of a penny in the pound, import duties, and inconsiderable taxes on processes and other judicial acts, and, finally, by the much-loved fines. The remainder stored up in the treasury was by no means sufficient to cover the enormous expenses of the fearful war which laid a heavy burden on the colony. We do not find that the government ever gave the people any account of the money, or that the deputies ever demanded a reckoning, although at the commencement murmuring arose about a present to an official; on the contrary, their enemies remarked that reckoning was never given, and founded on this the most detestable suspicions. Only the unlimited confidence created by the acknowledged integrity and the simple way of living of the government officials can explain the neglect of a regulation which now-a-days appears indispensable to the maintenance of order in the smallest and simplest societies.

Amid blessings, as amid trials and disasters, the spirit of the government ever remained the same. Severe corrective laws and the closest attention to morals were to support the chosen people in the favour of the Lord. The press was placed under inspection, and two censors

1662 were named, without whose permission nothing could be printed; but when they unconcernedly allowed an edition of Thomas à Kempis' "*De Imitatione Christi*," to be printed, government stepped in and stopped the printing of a work written by a priest, and containing much that was not proper to be brought before the people, while the censors were ordered to pay more attention for the future.

Some years previously, their arbitrary spirit had broken out in a more detestable manner. In 1640 the

doctrine of the baptists had made its way into Massachusetts, and the increase of their disciples among the young, had induced the government to pronounce an edict of banishment against them, in which ordinance they gave as a reason for banishment, that the doctrine of the baptists, by denying the authority of the government, was dangerous. But neither the law nor the punishments ordained against individuals was able to stop the corruption; the infection spread silently, until we find the baptists assembled in Boston into a community, against which all the severity of the government was turned. The presence of the commissioners had given courage to the oppressed 1655 to come forward more openly with their doctrines, and the government was disposed to act more energetically. The principal men were seized, and as they would not recant their errors, were banished; but being the dominant party in Rhode Island, and tolerated in Plymouth, they easily found an asylum.

Even in Massachusetts some distinguished men inclined to their doctrines, but the bulk of the clergy detested them. That their influence had not abated may be seen from the steps taken by government; although in the interim the people split more and more into communities, who showed themselves less than ever inclined to pay them decently, so that many preachers could say with truth, "that they prophesied in sackcloth."

Compared with the neighbouring colonies, those of England might consider themselves lucky in not having to suffer from the frivolous wars of the mother country. Cromwell's troops had conquered Acadia. The governor, Sir Thomas Temple, appointed there 1654

by the protector, was a friend to the colonies, though  
1667 at bottom a royalist. Acadia was now again  
abdicated to the French ; Canada was in their  
possession, and their inimical influence on the North  
1669 Indians threatened to become dangerous to the  
colonists of New England. The treaty of Breda,  
which ceded New Netherlands to England, did not pro-  
mise a long peace with the Dutch. After a  
1673 few years the struggle began anew, and New  
York soon fell back into the hands of its old masters.  
Though others had no influence on the colonies of New  
England, yet it was soon seen that such was not the  
case with their French neighbours.

The intellectual state of the colonies can scarcely be  
better shown than by comparing their position with  
the elder sister colony, Virginia. Founded more than  
twenty years previously, with all the profuse expendi-  
ture used by the nobility and a rich trading corpora-  
tion—first an aristocracy then a despotism, frequently  
brought to the verge of ruin by misfortune and the  
want of wisdom in the administration, and always re-  
cruited anew by fresh supplies from the mother country—  
she at a very early period contrived to secure herself  
a certain degree of independence, and in the representa-  
tive constitution which she formed had found a happy  
counterpoise to the power of the royal officials. But  
though politically educated from youth upwards, the reli-  
gion and morality of the New Englanders were un-  
known to the Virginians, who had carried with them  
over the sea all the essential peculiarities of the mother  
country. The puritan preachers, indeed, whom New  
England sent from time to time, found followers enough

among the people; but the government dreaded their influence, and expelled them with the same merciless severity with which they had been banished from England. In New England there was no aristocracy, except that artificially moral one of the church, and the universality of Bible instruction was soon to erase every trace of it. In Virginia it arose, as the most natural thing possible, amid the great landowners, owing to their intellectual superiority over the poor, who had come to the country as hired servants or transported criminals. In population Virginia somewhat surpassed Massachusetts. In 1671 it contained 40,000 inhabitants, and in 1675, 50,000; but while all emigration towards New England had ceased, the older colony could not subsist unless recruited every year with 1500 persons, sold from England, Scotland, and Ireland; 2000 to 3000 black slaves were also included in the number of the inhabitants. But in prosperity and good cultivation it had remained far behind the colonies of New England, whilst Boston, in the lapse of thirty years had grown into a flourishing trading town, on which England's rich merchants looked with a jealous eye. James Town, the seat of government, possessed about sixteen or eighteen houses, scattered over a space of three-quarters of a mile; whilst the planters in the former were ranged in social order, and formed themselves into communities. The houses of the latter, Virginia, of one story, and without glass windows,\* lay scattered

\* Glass windows, although Chaucer boasts that his room was provided with them, and although introduced into England towards the close of the twelfth century, were yet an article of luxury in the sixteenth. The great, who spent one part of the year in London and the other in their

about in the woods, and united by foot and bridle roads instead of highways, and separated by rivers over which no bridge crossed. Whilst there government and people placed a just pride in universal education and carefully preserved schools, the governor of Virginia replied to the questions of the Board of Trade and colonies, "Outside the town every one instructs his children as best he can. Of schools there are here, *God be thanked*, as few as printing presses; I hope there will be none these hundred years; for learning hath brought into the world disobedience, and heresy, and sects, and the press has spread abroad these and satires upon the government. God save us from both!"

But the greatest contrast is seen in comparing their laws upon slavery. The New England colonies made the introduction of slaves as difficult as possible; and though they could not prevent it, still the law insured to the unhappy slave humane treatment. At the time at which we speak there were scarcely two hundred in Massachusetts, and not thirty in Connecticut, and in proportion in the smaller colonies. Ships returning from Madagascar or Guinea had brought singly these sacrificial victims to the avarice of man; no mention is made of a regular slave market, and even then the sinfulness of a traffic in human beings was felt by some

castles, were accustomed to take out the costly panes, either to preserve or else to carry with them. Even at the time of the settlement in New England, they were one of the privileges of the rich. In 1621 Edward Winslow recommended a friend who proposed following him, to bring oil paper for the windows. (Chren. 237.) However, the rude winters of New England made the possession of glass windows doubly valuable; and nine years afterwards, Higginson recommended the new settlers to provide themselves at home with window panes. (Hutch. Coll. 40.)

pious men. Chief Justice Sewall wrote a pamphlet, entitled "Joseph Sold," directed against the slave trade. It was quite different in Virginia, where black slaves, already introduced more than fifty years before, constituted a considerable part of the population. Here the land gave the master as unrestricted a right over his human property as over the tree in his garden or the bed in his room. A ruthless law declared it was not punishable to wound or kill fugitives, and murder from punishment was not considered homicide. The corrupting, nay, fearful, influence of the deepest of all human degradations, called slavery, showed itself in the deep shadows on the minds and morals of the people.

After a space of a quarter of a century of peace and prosperity a nearly similar lapse of time was to be passed in war, the commencement of which was a short but bloody struggle with the natives. The stars which shed their light on the first generation of wanderers had set. Two years after Endicott, died Wil- 1667  
son, one of the leaders of God's people into the wilderness, whose persecution of the quakers and antinomists, which he held to be God's command, must not lead us astray as to his sincere piety. Davenport, also, the high priest, full of power and pride, was gone to his last home, displeased with a world which began to covet other idols. Bellingham, the last of the 1670  
original patentees; Thomas Prince, the worthy successor of Bradford, and Edward Winslow, were all 1672  
gone to the land of their fathers. A short time before the outbreak of the war died also the aged Blackstone, who had spent half a century in his transatlantic home, perhaps the first white inhabitant of Massachu-

setts ; and in the storm which threatened her, passed away the noble Winthrop, lamented as one of the wisest and best men of his time. He was followed in a few years by all those who had weathered the storms of the growing community and had seen it bloom, and now, like monuments of a departed time, stood prominent in a second generation ; such were Roger Conant, Benedict, Arnold, and Wheelwright, all gray-headed men of eighty. A new race appeared on the stage, and already one of its principal heroes, Josiah Winslow, son of Edward, and leader in the war against King Philipp, now verging on old age, had passed away for ever from the scene ; whilst Roger Williams, the friend of man, and John Elliot, the venerable apostle of the Indians, still moved among the living, and were destined to greet a fourth race with new habits and ways of thinking, and to hail the morning of another age.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

KING PHILIPP'S WAR.—FROM 1675 TO 1676.

MORE than half a century had passed away since the red men of the wilderness had first seen the white men pitch their tents among them. It was a waste spot of earth, deserted by its plague-smitten inhabitants, which they had first chosen for their home; and the wild herds, to whom the wilderness around seemed to offer hunting-ground for generations to come, might well spare them this. The planters of Plymouth, therefore, found but little impediment from the natives, and their wisdom and humanity soon converted their nearest neighbours into friends; their energetic resolution scared away the more distant.

But the number of strangers grew with astonishing rapidity; hundreds poured forth from the wonderful swimming houses, an object of amazement to the Indians. Under the axes of the mighty whites vanished the much-loved forests, which had yielded protection to the natives and their fathers. With irresistible busy activity they came nearer and nearer; pressed on not as conquerors, but with justly though slowly acquired possessions, attained by exchange of wares, the want of which had first been awakened by a knowledge of their existence; forced back the Indians into the interior, or crowded them together on small peninsulas. The very neigh-

bourhood of civilization seemed to destroy the Indian character. The fury in the breast of the thinkers among the red men, too weak to break out, or, where it could not be mastered, only injurious to him, had, after being suppressed for years, turned into poisonous bitterness. For the fearful fire-arm, the mere look of which made the boldest shudder, and its wonderful effects did not allow them any resistance, and a reluctant submission to the dangers forced upon them by their neighbours seemed all that was left.

To maintain that the red races had an exclusive right to cultivate this enormous part of the world on which they housed before the whites did, and in which immeasurable stretches of land seemed to wait for the industrious hands of the latter, would be the one-sided judgment of that false philanthropy which ever takes arms against cultivation, and thinks it defends the rights of nature and man in the rights of the savages. Providence had here created space enough for both races, in regard to possession. The settlers could not reproach themselves in any way; they had never settled except where completely waste places, abandoned by the Indians, invited them to stay, or where they had paid the possessor in just purchase with current wares. As late as 1685 all his claims were bought from the grand-son of Chickabot, sachem of Neponset. On this Boston was built, and he was obliged to draw up a quit-claim for it. They also knew that as settlers they had committed no injustice towards the natives; the governments endeavoured as much as possible to prevent the sale of spirituous drinks, so horrible in its results, and which men devoid of conscience still carried on, as the Indians repaid, cheating in trade to the utmost of their power.

Here and there a partial jury might, in the feeling of superiority, commit an injustice on a native, but, according to law, violence done to an Indian was punished the same as that done to a white, and in some cases more severely, out of fear of the results. The atrocities of the Pequodese war were old, and, moreover, could not be taken into calculation, as they were against a foe who had no other idea of war than a means of extirpation.

Sound policy had taught the first planters of Plymouth to give the savages no fire-arms, and to set a severe punishment on the sale of them. Norton and his wild companions had, in some measure, in a few years partially spoilt their game; for, with reckless imprudence, they taught the Indians the use of fire-arms, in order to have game for their debaucheries. The welcome knowledge spread rapidly amongst the red men, and the remarkable dexterity with which they used the weapons procured from the Dutch, French, or the English smugglers, is spoken of in the earliest annals. The government of Massachusetts issued a severe edict against the sale of weapons to the savages; but when they saw the insufficiency of this to prevent, they did not wish to give up the profit to the French and Dutch, and therefore abolished the edict, retaining only a considerable impost on every weapon and pound of powder sold. Thus did the Indians become possessed of the deadly implements which long seemed to them a sign of the supernatural powers of their owners, and with the superstitious dread of them disappeared, also, the belief in the unconquerable superiority of the whites.

The races of New England had gradually submitted to the supremacy of the King of England. The Indians

around Boston, broken-spirited, placed themselves under the authority of Massachusetts, which yielded them protection against their own tribe; but the Pokanokets, whose chief possessions were on the small peninsulas of Bristol and Tiverton, now belonging to the state of Rhode Island, the first Indians whom the settlers of Plymouth had known, had never submitted to them, although their prince, Massasoit, with other chieftains, had acknowledged the King of England as his superior lord, by signing a formal act, of which not one of them probably understood the exact meaning. Massasoit, or Usamakin, as he was called in his old days, was friendly to his end with the Plymouthers, and had never been treated by them as a subject but as an ally, even when they had long ceased to render princely honours to him or any other sachem with which they had met him at his first visit. With all this friendship, the wise chieftain carefully avoided letting them have any influence on the private matters of his people, and with great obstinacy refused to admit Christendom into his land. Nay, a short time before his death, when the contract with Plymouth was renewed, he would have an article inserted — that they should never attempt the conversion of the Pokanokets; and he only gave this up when convinced that they would rather break off the treaty than admit such a condition.

1656      Soon before or after his decease, his two sons and heirs, Wamsuta and Metacamet, made their appearance in Plymouth, the eldest a man, the youngest scarcely more than a boy. They came with assurances of their esteem to beg the English government to give them English names, whereupon the eldest received the name of Alexander, the younger that of

Philipp. No mention is made of any submission in connexion with this.

Many years passed away without giving any 1662  
occasion for hostilities, for any misunderstandings  
which took place between individual whites and Indians  
were settled in the ordinary way before the different  
town courts. But now men began to talk of Alexander's  
hostile intentions, and at length a letter from the  
Boston government informed the Plymouthers that this  
chief was busy raising the Narragansetts, and that an  
understanding reigned between the Pokanokets and  
their jealous neighbours, which seemed to intimate secret  
danger.

Captain Willett, a government official, who dwelt on  
the borders of Alexander's territory, was soon after com-  
missioned to question him about it, and to summon him  
to justify himself in Plymouth. But the chief did not  
appear, and a step was taken in which we do not recog-  
nize the wise moderation of the government of Ply-  
mouth. Major Josias Winslow Edwardsson, late governor  
of Plymouth, was sent off with some armed men to  
bring him by force to Plymouth, that he might justify  
himself there.

According to the coinciding report of the historians  
of these events, Hubbard and Increase Mather, Win-  
slow found the chief reposing after the chase, accom-  
panied by an armed suite and several women. With  
his small troop of eight or ten men he silyly got pos-  
session of the weapons of the Indians; his commission,  
however, was rejected by Alexander with disdain and  
even with passionate scorn, and it was only by placing a  
pistol at his breast that he could be induced to follow.

So soon as he showed himself willing he was courteously treated, and a horse was offered him for the journey, which he refused, out of compassion for the women who accompanied him; an almost inconceivable politeness in an Indian, who looks on woman as little better than a beast of burden. But his emotion was too great for him; he was so severely attacked by fever that he was set free, upon his promise to return after recovery, and was carried home upon the shoulders of a few of his faithful companions; a few days after which, or, according to some, before he reached home, he died.

Major Bradford, however, who accompanied Winslow, says, that Alexander was perfectly willing to obey the summons, and that his death was in no way connected with it, and occurred after he had been to Plymouth and justified himself.

1662      However that may be, Philipp, now the sole head of the Pokanokets, and greeted by his people with festivals and rejoicing, allowed no sensitiveness as to this to be remarked, when, soon after his brother's death, he came to Plymouth, and voluntarily proposed a renewal of their treaty of friendship. He at the same time not only expressed his submission to the king, but also pledged himself to a kind of dependency on the colony, promising not to make war on any of the Indian races without their knowledge, or to sell lands without their consent; so ran the contract. It is doubtful whether Philipp, from the imperfection of the translation, completely understood the conditions he made—at all events, he, at a later period, absolutely scouted the idea of ever having submitted. It is very difficult to say whether he was sincere, and very doubtful when we con-

sider the feelings evidenced by his acts. Let it suffice, that, unprepared as he was for resistance, he made peace with the whites, which he religiously kept for eight years.

At this time more active movements began to be visible among the Indians, and drew the 1670 attention of the Plymouthers. Frequent assemblies were held, and, in long exhortations, the spirit of the people was aroused, and (can one doubt it?) the injustice of the intruding strangers debated. Still more mysterious words of threatening were heard in the daily intercourse of the Indians with the whites, and a bolder and more insulting behaviour towards them showed that something hostile was at work. It was heard that Philipp had complained that the English, with their cultivation, had advanced into a part of the land which, at the sales, had been reserved for his hunts, which the government of Plymouth would not acknowledge. Prince, the governor, ever on his guard, sent a messenger to Philipp, with the question, "what this movement meant?" and at the same time despatched another to Boston for advice, and to announce that they thought they would be compelled to engage in a war with the Indians.

The government of Massachusetts, to whose honour be it said that they always showed themselves anxious to avoid war with the natives, without delay sent off a messenger to join the one on his way to Philipp, in order to obviate any further irritation. They Apr. 1671 found the governor of Plymouth in Taunton, a small town about eight miles from Philipp's territory, and the king on his own frontiers, surrounded by armed

men, both full of mistrust; the one dreading to make any prejudicial concession, the other to expose himself to any danger. Philipp had let the governor know that he wished to speak with him, and the governor had invited him to Taunton, to discuss the matter. The grey-headed Roger Williams, and some men of Plymouth, acted as plenipotentiaries; after much trouble they succeeded in persuading Philipp to come to Taunton, but he would not be overhauled till he was allowed to bring his retinue with him. The Wampanoges were then ranged on one side of the meeting-house, in which the negotiation took place; the Plymouth men on the other: darting at one another looks of fury, they stood opposed in hostile silence, whilst the leaders within weighed peace and war in the balance.

For the moment, the former luckily prevailed. Philipp's complaints were easily settled, as it was proved, at least to their satisfaction, that the English had not overstepped the land they had got by contract. He sought to represent all his preparations as directed against the Narragansetts; but it was clearly shown that he had never been on better terms with that race. Surprised and confounded, he confessed his faithlessness, and the intention he had of attacking them, and was persuaded, with his chief people, to sign a writing; in which he, in the most humble tone, asked forgiveness, hypocritically vowed reformation, and, as a pledge of his submission, promised to give up all the English weapons—about seventy muskets—which his men had with them, and, in a few days after, those that he had in his possession.

It is said that one of the head men of the Wampanoges, when he saw his chief set his name to such a



debasing writing, sprang up in a fury, called him a coward and dastard, and forthwith went over to the English. Certainly neither Philipp, nor any one of those who signed it, ever thought of keeping the conditions; but the signature seemed, for the moment, the only means of withdrawing himself from the danger into which he would have been plunged by too early a discovery of his views. He neither sent the weapons, nor appeared at Plymouth when summoned thither. The Plymouth men wished again to go against him: they wished to have the others, but were determined to go, even if they went alone; the league was also at this time nearly expired, and would not be renewed till next year. Massachusetts once more negotiated. Philipp, who seemed to trust the men of Boston more than those of Plymouth, appeared before their tribunal; where he distinctly denied the thought of a previous submission, but offered peace and to be amenable to reason; and, as he made a personally favourable impression, he found well-intentioned judges.

However, he seems to have been persuaded soon after, by the medium of the commissioners of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to repeat his act of submission, and, as a sign thereof, to promise a yearly tribute of five wolves' heads; and, besides this, to pay a hundred pounds sterling in wares, as he might happen to have them, within three years. The giving-up of the fire-arms, to which he was very averse, is not mentioned again; and probably this point was yielded in order not to irritate him further: this treaty was also signed by his chief counsellors.

But the conditions of a treaty, which imposed on him neither peace or war with his own race, nor the aliena-

tion of his property without their consent, must have appeared insupportable to him, and we cannot blame him for having been anxious to burst these oppressive fetters ; besides, it is said that at this time the policy of Plymouth particularly favoured Josias, one of the undersachems, and a rival of Philipp for the mastery over the Pokanoket race ; for only the Wampanoges who dwelt about Montaup stood under the immediate rule of Massasoit, and afterwards of his sons : they only maintained superiority over the other races of the Pokanokets, who had their own sachems. While Governor Prince treated Philipp as one of the superior chiefs, Major Winslow, as leader of the troops of great influence, showed Josias greater honours, perhaps, to hold a balance between them ; perhaps to engender discord : but this unworthy policy seems, if it did anything at all, only to have embittered Philipp more against the English. However, with the sly self-denial peculiar to his class, he waited for years, skilfully nourishing the vexation of the allied tribes, while he himself lived apparently on the best terms with the whites, and hoped to lull them into a belief of complete safety. He greedily accepted their gifts ; and doubtless it was a keen desire for the useful things they made him acquainted with that induced him to sell part of his lands, after having complained so much of being hemmed in.

The historians of that time seem to consider it an understood thing that a conspiracy, led by Philipp, had been laid by all the Indians of New England against the whites, which, however, broke out before it was completely ripe. Bancroft rejects the idea of a conspiracy, of which there is no proof ; and calls the beginning

of the war *accidental*. "Man," he says, "bewildered by the nearness of the danger, rushes on his fate ; and thus it was with the Indians—desperation made them rebel." Certainly, no plan of an attack was prepared ; and when Philipp aimed at a general rising against the whites, the early outbreak of hostilities, long before the exasperation of the other tribes had reached its climax, was quite against his wish.

John Sasamon, an Indian of Massachusetts, a son of convert parents, and himself educated as a Christian, became an assistant of Elliott's after he learned to read and write, with a sprinkling of English. To escape punishment for some offence, or because the desire for a roving life grew too strong to be resisted, he had fled to Philipp, who employed him as interpreter and secretary, and made him his confidant and counsellor. At a meeting with Elliott, the influence of the latter decided him upon returning to his old duties, and Philipp released him. John deposed a public confession of his repentance, appeared among his people as a preacher of the Gospel, and for the future devoted himself entirely to this calling. On a visit to the 1674 boundaries of the Pokanoket land he again saw Philipp and some of the chieftains, easily detected their hostile disposition towards the whites, and intimated the impending danger to the governor of Plymouth. Shortly after he was attacked and slain by three Indians, one of whom was Philipp's intimate friend and counsellor : his body was buried under the ice of the pool where the murder took place. The murderers were brought before a court, sentenced by a jury—one half composed of Indians—and executed, confessing their crime.

It does not appear that they had inculpated Philipp ; and he, when previously asked, had denied all share in the matter, though no one doubted that he had fee'd the murderers. It was an ordinary act of Indian justice, which punishes traitors with immediate death, only that, in general, the prince himself gladly takes the executioner's part. Expecting himself to be summoned before the court of Plymouth, Philipp put himself at the head of his wild and martial young men, and marched through the country ; but the colonists of Plymouth were as little prepared for war as he was, and wished, for the nonce, to avoid any outbreak. He was not cited ; and this unfortunate event would, perhaps, have passed over without further results, if it had not acquired particular weight from the irritation aroused by the hostilities of later years. One of the colonists of Swansey, the nearest village to the boundaries, enraged at the numerous plunderings and thievish attacks on his countrymen, in blind fury shot and wounded an Indian. This passed for a good sign ; for a superstition ran among the Indians that that side would at last lose from which the first attack issued : and now those passions, so long kept down, blazed forth. In Rehoboth, which lay near, an Englishman, expecting nothing of the kind, was soon after shot by an Indian. On the afternoon of the same day—it was Sunday—as the inhabitants of Swansey in quiet devotion issued from the church, they were suddenly assaulted by a troop of Indians, and many of them slain ; at the same time another troop broke into a house, and murdered the inmates. Thus began a war of life and death.

The character of Philipp, as revealed in this war, has

been very differently viewed by the older and the more modern writers. Contemporary historians—organs of the passions and prejudices of their own time, on which the rash, revengeful Indian chief brought down endless misery—unite in representing him as a cruel, artful barbarian, and the epithets monster, Satan, hangman, hell-hound, have been most profusely poured out upon him. Accustomed to regard him and his people as blind heathens, far below the Christian races—and especially themselves the chosen people of God, whose wrath offered them such men as a sacrifice, annihilating them by pestilence and war, to make way for his elected—they plumed themselves highly upon the integrity with which they and their fathers had treated them in every thing one could comprise as trade and treaty. Hence, the outbreak of Philipp's long-controlled feeling of revenge appeared to them detestable and inexcusable.

Several modern writers, however, have striven to represent Philipp as a great and heroic character, and the whites as intruders and oppressors. This is particularly the case with those historians who more than half a century ago emancipated themselves from the severe belief of their puritanical forefathers, and gladly represent their narrow-minded piety as bigotry, their strong religious zeal as fanaticism. It is only natural that bitterness and hate should trouble the views of the enemies of the dangerous chief, who by his desperate struggle shook the very foundations of their civic existence, converted their hard-earned prosperity into want, their safety into anxiety and danger. When we examine Philipp's way of acting impartially, we do not find him more revengeful or cruel than other Indians. Not a

single action of his life is known, which shows any particular hard-heartedness, or even thirst of blood. Human life was nothing in his eyes when murder was the means of reaching his aim ; but he neither murdered for pleasure, nor often in anger, and it would be hard to find an Indian who did not consider the murder of the weaker as quite allowable. And there are some features handed down to posterity, which show that he was not incapable of nobler feelings. One of his neighbours, who, shortly before the open outbreak of hostilities, brought a letter from Plymouth, and who would [have been killed by his people, was saved by him, "because his father had recommended him to do good to this man." Thus also, he ordered that a smith of the name of Leonard, and his house near the frontiers, whither he had often gone, sometimes for night quarters at the hunt, sometimes to have his weapons mended, should during the war be spared ; and this command was faithfully observed. The house, although in Taunton, long one of the seats of war, and in view of daily fights, was safe from the fury of the Indians, and still stands inhabited by the sixth generation of the same family, the oldest building in New England, and a speaking evidence that even a barbarian's heart knows the feelings of gratitude.

But his life offers as few characteristics of the great man as of the inhuman ruffian ; there is not a single act of magnanimity, and still less of strength of mind, that really stamps him as that. The same childish selfishness which characterised the Indians in their intercourse with the whites—sly attempts to get a double ransom for prisoners ; a vain desire for the good clothes, smooth buttons, and convenient implements of his

enemies ; for years he sold his nobler feelings for these trifles. Even the hero is not revealed in his way of conducting the war, which was carried on in the true Indian style, and betrays not a single great thought in any of its features. In fact, he appears in war as in peace, an artful, active, undaunted man, full of fury against the strangers who, after having experienced the generosity of his father, now overflowed the land like a swelling stream, and with the irresistible weapons of civilization making a way for the inevitable destruction of his unbappy people. From a prince of the people, powerful, and yielding neither to friend nor foe, he had become a dependent neighbour without a step having been taken for his overthrow, and so far in manners and way of living below them, that only the inferior classes held a real intercourse with him, and even they had great advantages over him. Posterity understands his feelings of hate and envy ; his contemporaries, who knew themselves to be guiltless, could not. They long sought to get at him by means of Christianity ; but he strove against it like his father, the friend of Uncas, the "lick-spittle" of the whites. But he was sly enough to hold out hopes from time to time, and the honest Gookins thought he saw movements of grace in him. But when Elliot's zeal grew too intrusive, the high-spirited chief's meaning became evident. He tore a button from his coat and held it between his fingers ; "I value," said he, "Christianity as much as I do this button !"

The number of Indians inhabiting New England at this time is given us so different, means are so completely wanting to ascertain exactly the numerical condition of the half-nomadic tribes, and they are so com-

pletely falsified by the ordinary boasts of the Indians, whose pride consisted in setting out many warriors, that even a mere supposition seems a risk. All the early statements contradict each other, and are not unfrequently contradicted by irrefutable facts. Bancroft, after careful examination of the different statements, computes the then number of Indians of New England, west of the Piscataqua, at 25,000 at the utmost. That of the savages who still dwelt in the unexplored forests could scarcely be computed. But the number of these Indians who as Philipp's subjects dwelt on the two peninsulas, or scattered over the territory of Maine, may be set down as 3,000, of whom seven hundred armed warriors, led by Philipp, stood arrayed against the English.

But a very few days after that first massacre in Swansea, which sent the war-cry like wildfire through the country, the troops of Plymouth, supported by an auxiliary troop from Massachusetts, marched against them. The old energy of the New England colonies led their movements, and a month had not gone by ere the unlucky Pokanoket chief had to seek aid as a fugitive among the Nipmuck Indians of Massachusetts.

After a long peace, the English had first of all to learn the trade of war. In the present generation there was scarcely one man who had gone through the school of an European war, or had carried on war as a trade.\* But neither leaders wanted resolution, nor the soldiers courage. Philipp, driven from the Sowams, had fled to the morasses of Pocasset. Pocasset, now Tiverton, is

\* Randolph calls Governor Leverett the only officer who had learnt the trade of war in Europe.



on the northern part of the peninsula, opposite Rhode Island. The land was full of these swamps till culture conquered them. They were boggy tracts, thick with wood, or perhaps with underwood as high as a man, and just enough to protect those crouching in it. In all New England there was, and is, not a single plain fit for an European field of battle.

On such ground the Indian was at home. A band of Plymouth warriors under Captain Church, and a troop from Massachusetts under Major Henshaw, joined and advanced against them. But destruction crouched behind every bush. In this conviction they, dreading a foe in every rustling bough, shot into the thickets and wounded one another. Thus night approached; when the leaders of the colonists, seeing that they were the worst off, drew back, surrounded the swamp, and resolved to starve the enemy out. But Philipp was more wily than they; he fled, with a band of forty warriors and a troop of wives and children, who had, according to the custom of the Indians, left their homes at the same time as their protectors, and the women carrying the little baggage, and the skins and poles for the wigwams, followed them through all their changing fortunes.

Among the Nipmucks, whom they had now joined, the concealed flame of enmity had broken fiercely out. These dwelt in Massachusetts, by the villages of Mendon and Brookfield; their head-quarters being Quabang. Here the revolt, more and more encouraged by Philipp's presence, spread to the villages of Connecticut, and within a few weeks the war-whoop of the red man, the most appalling note the human throat is capable of emitting, resounded through the woods of Massachusetts.

The Narragansetters were equally to be feared, there being many chiefs among them as among the Pokanokets. Their present chief was Canonchet, son of Miantonomo, a man of Roman greatness, and the purest and greatest of all the Indians who figure in the history of the seventeenth century. He is represented as being at this time in the bloom of manhood, and could therefore have been only a boy at the time his father was murdered, in 1643. Was it unnatural that he should have drawn, as it were with his mother's milk hatred of those selfish beings who had decided on the fate of his father? What but deadly enmity could be expected from him? Yet still he kept peace, held intercourse with Roger Williams, and, as it seems, strove after the friendship of the younger Winthrop. When, in 1648, the Indians began to stir again, and he heard that Winthrop's wife was in great anxiety, he intimated to her, through Williams, that she was to be quiet, that no one should harm her and hers. But then it did not come to war.

Wisdom at once prompted the Massachussetters to send off agents to the Narragansetters to beset the land with their troops, and to propose a league sword-in-hand, by which step they ensured themselves against the outbreak of hostilities, at least for the moment. The Narragansetts, it is said, had promised Philipp to rise in the following spring with 4,000 men, in which the Indians dwelling in Rhode Island were included. But the league into which they were now coerced, tied their hands up from doing more for their struggling brethren than merely the sheltering the fugitives, and they waited for better times. Among the six sachems who signed the league, were, besides Canonchet, our old acquaint-

ances Ninigret and Pomham; the former, as ever the open foe of the whites; the latter, one of the two sachems who first voluntarily submitted to the government of Massachusetts, and lastly, a squaw-sachem or princess.

It is not our view to follow through all its minutiae the fearful war which lasted nearly fourteen months. It would but little interest the modern reader, especially one abroad and unacquainted with the country. It was not a European war, where power stood arrayed against power, but a series of wily attacks, horrible burnings, and wild massacres. The Indians never stood against the English; as soon as a band marched against them they fled like the wind, though ten times the number of the others. But frequently they fled in hundreds before fifty, in order to entrap them; troops of ten or twelve times the number broke in upon the enemy from behind, overwhelmed them by their weight, and mowed them down, or carried them away captive, to celebrate the victory with tortures.\* But their clubs and muskets were more frequently directed against old men, women, and children, than armed warriors. The labourer in the field, the shepherd by his flock, the homeward-bound reaper, these defenceless beings were attacked unexpectedly by the red men, springing as it were out of the earth, hurling the tomahawk, or shooting from the thicket deadly and mercilessly, and then, as a cannibal-like trophy, hanging up the severed limbs on the nearest tree—a fearful greeting for the approaching troops. Shuddering and pale terror went through the

\* As, for instance, at Sudbury, where Captain Wadsworth and his little heroic band were set upon by not less than 600 Indians.

land. No one felt himself secure, for the foe dwelt in the midst of them. The red man who in the morning made a friendly bargain with the white pedlar, or received in the evening his wages from the white farmer, perhaps the same night murdered him and his family. Hundreds of praying Indians threw their Bibles away, and flew to arms to assist their brethren. One blooming family after another perished by the flames; troops of families, nay, whole village communities, wandered about without a roof to shelter them. And where there was no real evil, phantasy created fear and dread. The Indian bow was seen on the ether; the horses' tread was borne on the moaning of the wind, and the well-known figure of a scalp was seen in an eclipse of the moon: everything was a sign of horrors.

In the beginning of September the commissioners of the united colonies had met together, and resolved to make the war a common thing, for the carrying out of which a thousand men were to be raised without delay; the largest half being taken from Massachusetts, and of the smallest half two-thirds from Connecticut, and one third from Plymouth; these troops were raised against the Pokanoket and Massachusetts Indians. But there could no longer be any doubt as to the views of the Narragansetts. The league was renewed at Boston, in October; but, in spite of all leagues, they still sheltered Philipp's subjects, and the fugitives found a safe asylum among them. "I deliver up the Wampanoges?" said Canonchet; "no, not the pairing of a nail of one!"

At another meeting of the commissioners, it  
- Nov. 2 was therefore resolved to meet this secret with open enmity, and to raise a thousand more men, in

the same proportion as before, to take the Narragansett land. Josias Winslow, as governor of Plymouth, was appointed a commander of the conjoined troops.

The gainsayers of the puritans, ever ready to show where their Christianity, which was always on their lips, was wanting in their heart, condemned the attack on the Narragansetts—scarcely a month after renewing the league; and it cannot be denied that the struggle only attained its climax after this attack. But this was only anticipating an unavoidable thing; Canonchet's disposition, later on revealed, warranted them in only expecting deadly hatred from him. Simple policy taught them not to let him gather his forces completely. Winter came on, and troops of their foes had found a home among those who still called themselves friends. Here they wished to rest and gather strength, to break out with new vigour with the growing time of year; for the Indian gladly avoids war when the trees are leafless, and he can neither sally from the thicket upon his foe nor find shelter within it. But summer and winter were alike to the resolute English settlers; besides, the land of the Narragansetts was better cultivated than any other Indian land, and rich in well-filled granaries of Indian corn.

The 18th of December had come before the troops were got together. But, in spite of the deep new-fallen snow they marched towards Narragansetts, directly against their head force. These, apprized of the movements of the whites, had retrenched themselves in a fort, such as we have described in the Pequodde war. But this of the Narragansetts was of immense extent, built on a somewhat elevated piece of ground, four or five

acres in extent, and surrounded like an island by a swampy wood. This swamp, about two miles west from the village of South Kingston, lies in Rhode Island State, and was called Squa Sonk. The fort was surrounded with high palisades, and, besides that, with a hedge about sixteen feet thick; its sole entrance, through trunks of trees laid in front, rising four or five

Dec. 19      feet above the ground, protected by block houses, from which the foe fired. The English worked their way through the swamp, and a lucky chance brought them to that side of the fort on which the entrance was. A march of six hours, from break of day till mid-day, through snow and morass, had not fagged them. But he who made his way through the entrance, went to certain death: two heroic men from Massachusetts were the first to expose themselves—like Winkelried freedom—to destruction, in order to make a way for the victors. Their names, Johnson and Davenport, should not be lost to posterity; the historian should conscientiously recount, not only facts, but names; for the warrior devotes himself not only to honour, but to fame also, and the future prize of renown appeases at the same time the manes of the fallen.

They were shot down instantly, as were the troops who followed them; but the way was made, and more and more forced their way on. The Indians fought like furies, and succeeded in driving out the English; but after three hours of deadly struggle, these were again within and masters of the fort. Then, without delay, the torch was laid to the wigwams, to which the vanquished had fled, and five or six hundred miserable huts were soon levelled with the ground. Countless num-

bers of the unlucky inhabitants, old men, women, and children, sought in vain to save themselves by flight. In the midst lay the heaped-up corpses of the combatants, the white man with the red. According to the account of a Narragansetter, taken afterwards, they lost on this fatal day seven hundred warriors, besides three hundred who died of their wounds, though some spoke of a smaller number. Those who escaped fled to a neighbouring cedar swamp, where many were killed by the frost and hunger.

The English also suffered severely, having lost eighty-five men, among whom were four lieutenants, besides the two first killed, and not less than one hundred and forty-five men were rendered useless by their wounds, and in this state they had to traverse full fourteen miles to reach their quarters. For they durst not retain possession of the fort, dreading the return of the foe, with whose superior numbers they could not cope. But this seems to have been a useless precaution, for the troops of Connecticut, which had suffered most, had to return home to recruit; and those of Massachusetts and Plymouth, hindered by the approaching winter, lay a fortnight idle, and, at first, the taking of the fort seemed to have no results.

Soon after the departure of the English, the Narragansetts had again taken possession of the land. Many chiefs proposed peace; but only Ninigret—formerly the sworn foe of the English, but now rendered prudent—made peace. Later on, many of his subjects went out on the side of the Mohicans, with the Connecticut troops, against their own countrymen. But a loftier spirit animated the other Narragansetts: "Rather,"

said Canonechet, "die to the last man, than become the  
1676 Englishman's serf!" They resolved to quit their  
country and unite with the Nipmucks. Death  
and desolation marked their trails. They carried fire  
and bloodshed into Rhode Island, which had taken no  
part in the war; but all white colonies were alike to the  
red man, and this island, unprotected by troops, bore the  
whole brunt of their fury. The houses and barns were  
given to the flames; the men, who had remained, fell  
under their war-clubs, and the cattle were driven off  
in troops.

Whole villages perished in the flames; the revolt  
spread on every side. Even Plymouth, so laboriously  
raised, was half destroyed, and Providence several times  
attacked; but we must not forget to state that the grey-  
headed Roger Williams, one of its few inhabitants, who  
had not left their houses, remained secure from all those  
horrors of war.

Many of their chiefs visited him, and he showed him-  
self true to his old character of peace-maker. "What  
do you wish for?" said he; "the Massachusetters can,  
in a twinkling, raise a thousand more men, and when  
they are fallen the king of England can send new ones."  
"Let them come," was the answer, "we are ready for  
them; but thou, brother, thou hast been our friend all  
thy life long, and, therefore, not a hair on thy head shall  
be harmed."

But not all the Indians were so full of bold confidence.  
The races of New Hampshire, who, indeed, had in no  
way suffered by the vicinity of the English, declined all  
union with their brethren, and remained perfectly quiet.  
The praying Indians, who, before their conversion, were  
by far the most unwarlike races, thinned by pestilence,



remained for the most part true to the whites, or, rather, they had not the courage to appear openly against them, though they could do it without danger. The Mohicans and the Pequodees fought regularly in troops with the troops of Connecticut; as did a small band of Narragansetts, of whom we have just spoken. The bulk of the Indians were, however, joined against the English, and were chiefly close set in Worcester county, between Marlborough and Brookfield, as far as the Connecticut. There, with their wives and children, they housed in thousands in the woods, ever ready for an attack, and far superior in watchfulness and activity to the whites. But the latter had learnt something from them. A large body lay near Deerfield, close to a fall of the Connecticut, since called Turner's Fall; and the nearest English garrison was twenty miles distant. The Indians thought they might sleep in quiet, and even the watch rested, when, after a quiet night march, a troop of 160 warriors suddenly fell on them, the first token of their approach being the bullets which whistled over the heads of the sleepers. Horror seized them, and in the darkness of night they rushed into the river; some sprang into the canoes without a rudder and were carried over the fall, where the canoes shattered on the rocks. Their loss, women and children included, was calculated at 300 souls. But this time darkness had done more to conquer them than the weapons of the English. By break of day the fugitives assembled and fell upon the rear of the returning English with a massacre, in which Turner, the leader of this bold attack, fell. His name was given to the waterfall; and the fight was known as "The Fight of the Falls."

In truth, the time was rich in valorous deeds, daring tricks, and adventures. The names of their commanders, at the head of little bands, who bravely fell, after long resistance, victims in the unhappy war to superior might, long remained to posterity in tender strains.\* Hadly, on the east shore of the Connecticut, was often attacked, and was the scene of that romantic adventure when, on a sudden irruption of the Indians during divine service, a majestic and armed warrior suddenly appeared at the head of the startled inhabitants, drove off the foe, and then as suddenly vanished. Was it unnatural to imagine that this Saviour, sword in hand, was one of God's cherubims?

The volunteers of Connecticut distinguished themselves in hardy, fearless spirit, full of the marvellous, as well as good luck. In the southern townships of these colonies, besides the troops raised by the government, a number of volunteer corps had been formed, who made sudden irruptions into the land of the Narragansetts, and brought home corn and wine; ten or twelve such expeditions slew or made captive upwards of four hundred foes, whilst they did not lose a single man.†

The inhabitants of the places attacked also rose in arms, and, as in Scituate, drove off the savages whose

\* Lothrop, with eighty men, was carrying a provision train conducted by about twenty men more, when he was attacked by 700 Indians close to the Sugarloaf Hill, not far from the Connecticut, and only seven or eight whites escaped. Wadsworth was in the same entrapped into an ambush and murdered, together with his men.

† The good luck of the Connecticut troops was great enough. In some the arrows stuck in their neckcloths, and in one case in a piece of cheese a man carried in his pocket. The arrows of the Indians were pointed with flat sharp stones, and very difficult to extract from the flesh when they had once made their way into it.

fury cooled itself on some captured women and children. In more than one case such houses were made secure asylums for the women, and desperately defended by a few courageous men, and many a trace of heroic courage in women has been preserved. For the common danger called into play all the powers of man, physical and moral, and it would be hard to find a period of the world so short, and yet so full of the extraordinary—of heroic courage and self-denial.

Many an Indian gave proofs of heroism, though the partial historians unwillingly relate them, and Canonchet's warfare shines conspicuous. In Pocasset reigned a squaw, Wetamo by name, who courageously stood by her chief, but was drowned in a river when fleeing for safety. The neighbouring race in Saconnet was also held by a woman, called Awashonk, who, conspicuous from her masculine spirit and whom prudence taught before the end of the war to go over to the whites, with whom she remained friends.

By March the good fortune of the Indians had reached its climax. But their home was destroyed as well as that of the whites: thousands of families were driven forth; but as they carried their wigwams with them it was an easy matter to build huts here and there, while a cavern, or the free heaven gave shelter to the warriors. But there was another loss they could not so bear, provisions began to fail; for where so many flocked together, their small stores could not hold out long. The time for planting was come, but there was no seed; and Canonchet ventured, with a small troop, to Montaup to get some, perhaps informed by Philipp that corn lay buried there. On the way he came in collision with the volunteers of Connecticut and their Indian companions.

As he endeavoured to escape through the Blackstone River, he slipped on a stone and fell; his musket was wet and unserviceable. Now he knew that it was over with him—"His heart and his bowels," he said, "turned round; he was like a rotten staff, and deprived of power." Though of gigantic strength, he quietly submitted to a Pequodee who wished to make him his prisoner, when a young Englishman approached and put some questions to him. But Canonchet looked with contempt at his beardless face, and said, in broken English—"Thou much child—thou not war knowest. Let thy leader come; with him will I speak."

It is said that his life was offered to him if he would submit, but that he disdained to do so. "Good!" said he, when his execution was announced; "I will die ere my heart becomes soft. Canonchet will fall rather than speak a word of which he might be ashamed." The manner of his death showed the barbarity of the time. The English contented themselves with looking on, whilst the Pequodees shot him.\* The Mohicans beheaded and quartered, and Ninigret's Narragansetts burned his corpse. The head of the last chief sachem of the Narragansetts was sent to the government of Connecticut.

But where was Philipp during all these dreadful scenes? Since he joined the Massachusett Indians, we only seldom see him figure on the scene, and then often as a fugitive, lurking in caverns, now here now there, rousing up to war. During the winter he seemed to have

\* One of the people ordered to do this was a near relation of the chief. He held out to him his hand with the words—"Farewell, cousin! I must now shoot thee!"

fled, and it was said he had gone to Canada. According to some, he was in the Narragansett fort, and according to others, one of the leaders of the Indians who attacked Turner on the Connecticut. It was he, men said, who massacred Wadsworth and his little troop of heroes, and so cruelly butchered the prisoners. The places where he hid himself are yet shown, and in Winnecunneteich, at Norton in Massachusetts, a cavern is still called Philipp's cave. At last we meet him again among the Mohawks, whom he sought to rouse against the English—but they remained firm. He then had a couple of them murdered, and accused the whites of having done it; but one of them was resuscitated, and discovered the crime to the Mohawks, who slew fifty of Philipp's men, while he had again to take to flight to escape their just revenge.

But at last his allies fell away from him, while famine and need grew greater, and a pestilence assisted them. "I have eaten horse," said a poor dying Indian, "now horse eats me." Whole troops gave themselves up only to have something to eat, while others freely risked their lives by venturing near the whites, to pick up some eatable mussels on the shore. Their spirit was broken. Lieutenant Church relates, that he had taken a troop of Indians, but could not spare men enough to watch over them, and, therefore, sent them to a certain spot, that he might dispose of them, and that they really came! Before the month of July had passed over, most of the races of Massachusetts had submitted.

But Philipp did not despair. After more than a year's absence, he reappeared in his native land, accompanied by a seemly troop, and pitched his tent in the

neighbourhood of Mount Hope. Here, where there was no want of food, he hoped to be able to gather new troops, and Indians came to him from all quarters; but Lieutenant Church, leader of a free corps, attacked him, slew one hundred and thirty of his men, to whom belonged Philipp's brethren the Saconets, and the subjects of the Squaw Awasonk, and took his wife and child prisoners, while he narrowly escaped: his uncle and sister had previously fallen into the hands of the whites.

This was the last blow. Desperation seized the unhappy man, who wandered about—a price on his head—outlawed and deserted. One of his suite ventured to talk of peace, but death from Philipp's hand was the answer; Alderman, the brother of the slain, enraged at the act, went to Church, in Rhode Island, and offered to lead him to Philipp's retreat—a swamp on a tongue of land. Church, with some of his attendants, made his way thither, when Philipp again wanted to escape, but was struck by Alderman's avenging ball. Instead of the scalp,\* the ordinary trophy of the Indians, Alderman hewed off the right hand of his slain prince, which was recognized by the English from a curious scar, as the right hand of the hated and dreaded foe who had brought down such woe upon them.†

\* The habit of scalping was then new among the Indians. When the English came to the country they were wont to carry away the whole head as a trophy. The scalping they are said to have learnt from the French, in Canada; and the Indians of the east knew it much sooner than those of the west,—*Niles' History of the Indian and French Wars.*

† This did not prevent Church from having the body quartered, and the head sent to Plymouth; for which, though there was a price on this head, they only paid him as much as for any other,—namely, 30s.

The war was now over. Before harvest, all the Indians had submitted, whom the sword or misery had not extirpated. Some of the nobler tribes fled to Canada, and were mingled with the other races there.

A few weeks after the troubles in Plymouth, the west parts of Massachusetts—that is, Maine and the north-east of New Hampshire—were the theatre of some bloody deeds. It is said that the Indians here had been much irritated, and that the English seamen had aroused the anger of the natives by all kinds of brutality and extravagance. A rude sailor wished to see if the old saying were true, that all the Indians were born swimmers, and threw a helpless child into the water; and blood had also flowed in drunken brawls. The wild sailors escaped retribution from the so shamefully treated Indians, and left in their ships, but the peaceable landmen suffered for their crimes. The news of the revolt of the south-western Indians encouraged them to go further, and one crime followed another. It was a state hardly to be named war; for, before men could think about it, and without any cause, a band of Indians would break forth from a wood, murder a family or a number of men, burning and plundering the houses; nay, the funeral procession, on their way to the church at Kittery, bearing the unhappy victims to their grave, were attacked, and those who could not flee murdered. It was a series of meaner murdering and plundering attacks than in the south-west. There, there was revenge; no pardon was given, and prisoners were only made to glut their revenge by skilful torture; but many were taken captives—especially women and children—in order to extort a ransom for them. The

wild hordes pressed on, as far as the Piscataqua, plundering and burning on their way.

The government of Massachusetts, sufficiently occupied in the west, could do nothing further for them than summon the military powers of the place to call out all  
1675 capable of taking the field. At this time the militia of Maine numbered seven hundred men.

In harvest a kind of truce was made, by which, at least, some quiet was gained for the winter and spring, when hostilities again broke out with violence. Philipp's death allowed the troops of Massachusetts to turn their arms towards the north. Many of the southern Indians had fled to the Pokanokets, dwelling near Cocheco (Dover), who had not revolted, but were hostile to the English. Major Waldron, a respectable planter, and known as an honourable man, confided in by whites and Indians, invited them to Dover to treat with him. There, in Waldron's fortified house, they were attacked by the Massachusetts troops, and taken prisoners—four hundred in number. Nearly half of them were found guilty of having taken part in the disorders; seven or eight of them were hanged, and the rest sold into slavery in the south.

This was on the 6th of September. In the north hostilities went on; the plantings on the Kennebeck lay waste and deserted until exactly two months later (Nov. 6). After many a turn of luck, a truce was concluded with the Indians on the Penobscot, a branch of the Tarratines, or Abenakes—the first ever made between the inhabitants of these regions and the English. The leader of this race was called Mugg, a warrior of spirit and intellect, educated in an English family, and in



whose mind a Christian education had left some traces of humanity. Meanwhile some other tribes, spurred on and provided with weapons by the French, who were again in possession of Acadia, continued their plunderings. Next year, Major Edmund Andros took possession of the land east of the Kennebeck, in the name of the Duke of York, in whose patent it was included. He built a fort on the Pemaquid, 1677 and his hostile preparations made some impression; at last, however, a lasting peace was concluded at Casco.

During this bloody feud the northern plantings were mostly destroyed, and those which were most favourably treated were checked in their growth. New England was at once to drain the bitter cup of sorrow; Connecticut alone was wonderfully spared, except that it had to send its tribute of men, the fight having only touched its borders. The Indians dwelling in the interior—Mohicans and Pequodees—remained true, whilst those dwelling by the stream after which the colony is named, in the district of Massachusetts, the tribes of Hadly and Hatfield belonged to the direst foes of the whites. In the other colonies twelve or thirteen towns were, in the course of this fearful year, totally destroyed, and one hundred houses, mostly dwellings, burnt down. The number of the fallen, also six hundred, appears small, but they were the flower of the country; and who can doubt that their loss was more severely felt than that of property? An intolerable load of debt weighed down the land, for the war preparations had demanded great efforts, which the enormous taxes could not cover. In March, 1676, £1000 were raised in the colony of Ply-

mouth alone, whilst the yearly taxes for this poor place had risen above £260. The ready money spent in this year was more than £100,000, while the loss in property, which made beggars of countless numbers, could scarcely be calculated.

But the last leaf of this sad history is the most painful to read, for a deadly hatred against the red men raged among the whites. Neighbours had shown themselves deadly foes, and fellow-combatants faithless friends; men no longer trusted an Indian. There were some heads who wished to have the entire race extirpated. Once, when several Indians were brought prisoners to Boston, a troop of forty men came late in the evening to the house of an officer called Oliver, and demanded that he should be their leader. They wanted to break open the prison, and hang one of the Indians; the answer was a cudgelling for the spokesman. In rare cases the fury of the people contemned the authority of the officials. Two of the east Indians were brought captive to Marblehead, a fishing village near Salem: it was Sunday, and the community were leaving the church. The women fell on the unlucky creatures, and by their death, perhaps, revenged the loss of a son or husband.

If we regard with horror the blind fury of the people, what shall we say of the conduct of the government, ever ready with Christian principles, and with Christian clergy for their counsellors? It has been said, in exculpation of their barbarous severity, that they had to manage the dispositions of the people, and at the same time soothe their anger. The truth is, they were free from this ignominy, but that the same bitterness reigned among the leaders

of the people as among the people themselves, whose organ they only were.

From the very beginning, the greatest severity was observed towards the still subject Indians, in order to frighten them. Those of Natick, and of many of the villages of praying Indians, were at once sent by the government of Massachusetts to Deer Island, a poorly planted island in the bay, where during the winter they almost died of hunger. Every man of colour was excluded from Boston; he who lodged an Indian was guilty of high treason, and the unlucky few who ventured near the town were put under ban. In Plymouth they seem to have carried away the wives of the praying Indians as hostages. Letters of that date mention with pity the bitterness of the men, and the great severity of the government. On the promise of pardon a number of Indians had given themselves up to some officers, of whom Church was one; but, in spite of their urgent entreaty, the government broke its faith, and the unfortunates were sent on board a ship and sold as slaves in West India.

And yet their lot appeared mild. More than his life was promised to no one who was either taken or had given himself up, while he who could be proved to have taken part in a death was to die. A complete troop of chiefs was executed in Boston; and many more, with them a great number of common Indians, were sold to Bermuda and other places; the last regulation being excused by the fact, that the price they brought helped to cover the colony's large debts.

The most of the clergy approved of this cruel proceeding, and exculpated it by numerous passages from

the history of the bloody wars in Israel. Others, among them the truly Christian Elliot, in vain counselled mildness.

The question arose, what was to be done with Philipp's son, a boy of nine years, sole child of the unhappy chief? and the clergy were asked for their advice. From a document signed by two respectable clergymen, it is evident that they counselled the government of Plymouth to execute him. "It is true," they wrote, "that the law of Moses, 'The children shall not die for the father,' holds good in general; but, after mature reflection, we think that the children of such notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially such as have been the head leaders and roots of such scandals, and that against a whole people, yea, against all God's Israel, should be included in the sin of their parents, and, *salva republica*, condemned to death, as we are taught by the example of Saul, Achab, and Haman, &c."

Increase Mather, the most influential clergyman of Massachusetts, was also of this opinion. It is, however, some assuagement for offended humanity, that there exists the letter of an obscure servant of Christ who was of another opinion, and who, besides the law of Moses, cited the behaviour of Amasias, "who did not slay the children of his enemies." But no one thought on the Saviour's words, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you." At most, the moral law of the Jews held them in check; to the divine love of Christianity they were strangers.

At last it was resolved not to kill the boy, but to sell him to slavery, and we hear nothing further of him. The Narragansetts, the Wampanoges, the Indians of

Plymouth, had returned home, and, like the Indians of Massachusetts, who had not wandered towards the North, lived in stupid inactivity, under severer watch and harder laws, too completely stunned by the hard blows they had received, ever to make another attempt to free themselves from their dangerous neighbours.

## CHAPTER XXV.

NEW DANGERS FROM ENGLAND. MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE. WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHARTER.

THE colonies had manfully struggled through all these severe tussles, without ever asking the mother country for aid either with gold or men, nay, without intimating their serious condition to the king or the colonial committee. The progress of the war was only known in England from private letters : but no one there misunderstood the cause of this reserve, and their proud independence aroused new bitterness. Their severity and cruelty, their opponents said, had brought this misfortune on the country ; their spirit and obstinacy would now ruin the land and deprive the king of a fine province. A letter from Lord Anglesey, keeper of the privy seal, to Governor Leverett (not as official to official, but rather apparently as one friend to another, for they had been friends in Cromwell's time), contained some bitter reflections on the colonists, and in the king's name gave them plain hints of what was preparing for them. It occurred to no one in England that either parliament or the king ought to do any thing of themselves, to preserve a possession for the crown and a province for the monarchy. The money which came from them for the support of the impoverished was mostly collected in the dissenting churches, being a private matter, and, according to the opinion of a historian acquainted with

the subject, could scarcely exceed what had been sent some years before by the colonists for the behoof of those burnt out in London, and for the plundered West Indian settlements. The settlements were as exclusively supported as they had been exclusively founded, out of their own private means, without the least cost to the mother country.

Their enemies were at work. At the very 1675  
time the land seemed sinking into complete poverty, amid all the horrors of a barbarous war, the English merchants made fresh complaints of the non-observance of the navigation laws, and their losses in consequence. Hereupon a stricter command was sent to the governors to enforce the observance of these laws, and the commissioners were ordered to swear them in relative to it; parliament resolved also, until this matter was settled, to grant the New England ships no passports to protect them against the Turks in the Mediterranean. All in vain! Governor and people were both convinced that the restriction of their trade ran quite counter to the words of their charter, and that no parliament had a right to cut off one iota from the gracious present on which their fathers had built, as on an inalienable foundation; thus the navigation laws remained as before, a dead letter.

At this time Ferdinando Gorges, grandson and heir of Sir Ferdinand, and Robert Mason, heir of Colonel John Mason, renewed their complaints, and a messenger was sent to New England with copies of them, and a royal command to send, within six months, deputies to justify their usurpation of the two estates belonging to these men. This messenger was Edward Randolph, "one of

those hungry adventurers with whom America was so soon to be acquainted;" and from his first appearance, for twelve long years, New England's evil angel; a more spiteful, hateful soul could not have entered the lists against her. During the nine years in which the fate of Massachusetts remained uncertain, he made no less than eight voyages thither, the motive of his contemptible zeal being really his own enrichment. The New Englanders, speaking of his unwearied activity, were wont to say, that "he went about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour," and it is difficult to say whether they hated or despised him most.

The cold, formal reception he met with in Boston disgusted him. As royal messenger, he expected fear and reverence, and found only despicable quiet; while the answer to the king, instead of requiring a month, as he had given them, was instantly prepared, and sent off by a ship which was returning to England, a sealed duplicate of it being placed in his hands, as he remained in the country. Leverett was in the fourth year of his governorship; Symmonds was vice-governor, and six of the ten assistants were then in Boston. The letter handed in by Randolph was addressed to the "Governor and Magistrates of Boston;" and Leverett, when he saw the signature, and saw it was signed by Coventry, secretary of state, asked who this Mr. Coventry was?—all of which was reported to the king with the most mischievous accuracy.

Randolph was one of Mason's numerous relatives, and his agent. He therefore did his best to work a conviction of the justness of his claim, by means of



letters which he brought with him, and during a journey to the north, by instigations of all kinds. Wherever he went, the discontented flocked to him, and therefore, especially as this suited his views, he, in his letters to England, represented the people as oppressed, discontented with the government, and anxious for the king's immediate interference ; the last being particularly false, for the idea of a general governor was hateful even to those who did not like the severe, dark spirit of the existing government. Randolph described the higher officers, in particular, as being decidedly loyal ; and there might be some discontented ones among them, as many of them did not think themselves sufficiently recompensed ; but it is difficult to say what was true and what was not, in Randolph's letters, as he knew how to colour facts so as to suit his purpose. But there was not, with this exception, a trace of discontent.

The lords of the chamber of trade had commissioned him to send in a report on the state of the country, and had given him twelve questions to answer. It is incredible what malice he used in doing so ; whilst he gave a tolerably accurate report on the internal affairs of the colonies, he diligently threw a false light on certain parts—a falsehood less marked, from the others wearing a semblance of truth. Thus, he multiplied the population fourfold—spoke of the great wealth of the colony, and of the extraordinary fruitfulness of some of its resources—accused it of having been the cause of the war—pitied the fallen, who were mostly loyal, as the members of the church were always allowed to stay at home, that they might not be exposed to the dangers of war—and reports in positive numbers how the chief loss

in the war had fallen on Plymouth and Connecticut, while it was known that the latter had suffered least, and Massachusetts most, part of her troops being engaged against the eastern Indians when the spiteful and lying report was drawn up. It would not be easy to find an historical document breathing a more satanic spirit.

The council had quickly, though reluctantly, resolved to send agents to defend their rights. William Stoughton, one of the assistants, and Peter Bulkley, speaker in the chamber of deputies, were selected. But, contrary to the king's command, their power was restricted, and did not permit the removal of one syllable of their charter. Bulkley was not a decided political character, whilst Stoughton, son of old Israel Stoughton, inclined somewhat to the royalists; for already the political views of the colonists showed a distinct schism, which grew more and more, till at last all the statesmen divided into two parties, patriots and prerogative men; political oppositions which grew more and more distinct and rash, till the revolt of the colonies. The suit with the heirs of Gorges and Mason was soon decided in England, according to the regular course of law. The lords, judges of the king's bench, decided that the patent of Massachusetts only granted three more miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack, and the king confirmed this sentence; thus both provinces at once were wrested from Massachusetts. Gorges' suit was first decided, and he was recognised as the rightful lord of the soil and manor of Maine. Mason, however, had no claim on the government of New Hampshire, but only on the soil; but then his patents also clashed with other pre-

sents and sales of the Plymouth Society, and also with the long possession of the present owners. The judges therefore—as the law of England prescribes that local strifes must be settled by jurors living near the place—referred the affair to America, to be decided before the courts there. The idea of transferring the rulership of Maine had been again agitated in the king's cabinet, and Charles wished to purchase their claims from the owners. But, before a step was taken in earnest, Usher, a merchant of Boston, agent of the government of Massachusetts, concluded a similar bargain with Gorges, bought his patent of him for £1250, and sent in the letter of purchase.

When the king heard of this rash bargain, he was highly enraged. His anger did not turn so much (as it really should) against the sellers as against the buyers, whose shameless defiance thus shewed itself anew. But, as all had been done in a fair way, nothing could be made of it for the moment, and the Massachusettsers were able, undisturbed, to make their arrangements for the new case.

They felt that a new storm was gathering over them. The hard trials of late years—a severe fire being added to those of a scarcely finished war, destroying in Boston half a hundred houses and much other property—had again led to those unhappy attempts to explain the will of Providence according to human wisdom. Worldly and spiritual leaders thought, how could they have deserved these chastisements? A list of sins was drawn up, and declared by the general assembly to exhibit the existing offences against the Almighty. Scarcely ever did a puritanical whim arouse more the mockery of

their opponents than this unwise document. Among the eleven articles given as causes of God's anger were the following :—

2. Pride. Men wearing long hair like women ; others, borders of hair, and the hair being cut in an unseemly wise, curled or dressed, and especially the young. Grand jurors to present and the court to punish offenders, by warning, chastisement, or fine, as may seem good.

3. Extravagance in clothing, new strange fashions, naked breasts and arms, and flying superfluous ribbons in the hair and attire. The court to punish offenders at discretion.

4. Quaker meetings.

5. Godlessness, many quitting the divine service before the blessing is pronounced. Church officials and select men shall choose persons to close the doors, &c.

9. Idleness. All idle persons to be noted by the constables, and their names given in to the select men, who shall have power, in case of contumacy, to send them to the house of correction.

10. Oppression of pedlars and merchants, who take too much for their wares, and of artizans who ask too much for their work. The punishment to be two-fold repayment of the extortion, besides a fine, &c.

None of these ordinances had such serious results as that against the quaker meetings. After the first bloody persecutions, a kind of reaction—and the sympathy this created—had here and there produced a desire to learn more of the doctrines of this strange sect. But this temporary negligence seemed to have called down the wrath of heaven on the people ; men durst not return to the old bloody laws, but they re-

solved to bring those who had no fixed home, under the laws against vagabonds. It was accordingly enacted, that every visit to a quaker meeting should be punished by imprisonment in the house of correction, with three days' hard labour, or a fine of £5, half of which went to the informer. This law was ruthlessly carried out—and in England and the other colonies created scarcely less bitterness against the harsh and intolerant spirit of Massachusetts than the previous bloody persecutions; the more so, as the quakers had gained ground in England as well as in America, and many of them had gained a high repute and estimable character.

In Rhode Island their influence was great, and in West Jersey they had founded an independent settlement in the very year this law drove them forth from Massachusetts.

They now handed in a fresh complaint to the king, and, with their well-known cunning, contrived in their account so to mingle bygone things with the present, that every one, not thoroughly informed, concluded that their brethren in Massachusetts were either branded or hanged for the sake of faith. All cried out against the bigoted cruelty of the puritan colonies, and their agents Stoughton and Bulkley had a hard struggle. But here it was seen how man feels himself most injured where his interest suffers. Stoughton wrote, "that our land has not fulfilled the navigation laws is the most unlucky neglect we could have committed; for we see daily, that without complete submission on this point, nothing but a rupture, and all the sufferings conceivable from the king's displeasure, can be expected."

But this was exactly the point in which Massachu-

setts would not, or believed she could not, give way without injuring her charter. In a letter to the agents the principle was again decisively spoken out—on which rested, a century later, the revolt of the colonies from the mother country, namely, *that parliament had no right to tax them, so long as they had no representatives in it.* Yet they wished, for the moment, to lull the storm which threatened destruction, and therefore they made the navigation act valid by a particular law. All officials concerned in it were ordered to watch strictly over and carry it out. It shows a strange dullness of ideas, that this step, by which Massachusetts more than ever asserted her independence, was not ill received in the king's council, and that, on the contrary, the king in his next letter showed himself particularly pleased at it.

During the stay of the agents in England, other regulations were thought of to pacify their earthly ruler, now that they believed they had by the previous ordinances bought off the anger of their heavenly master. Fast and prayer days were fixed, to pray for the blessing of God on their labours, and to gain the king's grace without giving up the privileges of their charter.

1679 A synod was appointed, that they might not lose the counsel of the holy fathers. The king's arms were set up in the government house, high treason declared to be a capital crime, and the oath of allegiance taken, in the words prescribed by England, from all persons above sixteen, the governor and authorities setting the example. Scarcely a point remained on which the king's displeasure could fall.

But his mistrust was not lessened; the colony was blamed for having sent agents with such limited powers.

These were long detained, and only set free at their urgent wish, and then without having done any thing, the court being exclusively occupied by the newly-discovered catholic plot. The discontent they met with, not from the government, but the people, outvied that which rewarded the agents sent at the king's restoration. Stoughton was particularly reproached with not having maintained the dignity of his position, and for having been too complaisant. The applauding evidence which the king's letter brought by them gave—that they had conducted their case with care and discretion—was not favourable to them. Doubtless they knew this as well as Norton; and though the displeasure of the people did not break their hearts, as it did his, yet it is said that the moodiness into which Bulkley fell, and which ended in complete madness, had its root in disgust and reaction about this unfortunate mission. It is more certain that experience decided Stoughton on refusing again to play the part of agent when selected by the government.

The agents had brought over another royal letter, partly repeating the previous demand in respect to swearing in, the use of the king's name in public acts, &c.; partly insisting on a further extension of the right of citizenship, which he wished to make dependent on a yearly tax of 10s., without moral evidence, and on a complete toleration and equal rights for the church of England. Reproaches were added for their insolent purchase of Maine at a time when they knew his majesty was in treaty for it, and the command to make it invalid, as complaints from its inhabitants had come to the king.

But the chief demand in the letter was to send over

within six months new agents, with unlimited powers, to answer all questions and accept the king's conditions and necessary restrictions, as certain alterations were necessary in the charter, from its having been originally designed for a corporation within the monarchy and as without this it was not possible to bring about that good understanding which his majesty so much desired. There was no lack of gracious expressions, and a wish was added to forget "all bygone errors and misunderstandings."

But it was exactly to the inviolability of the charter that the colonists held with such unshaken firmness; rather every possible sacrifice than the least alteration

1678 in it. Randolph had already come over, a year before the return of the agents, with a commission from the board of trade to watch the carrying out of the navigation act. A committee, at whose head he stood, was forthwith named by that body, to take from the governor an oath prescribed for the governors of all the colonies respecting the act, but which had not yet been taken in Massachusetts. Leverett died, and so escaped. But Broadstreet, the new governor, took the oath, not before the committee, but before the vice-governor and general assembly; thus it appeared more an oath on their own law than a submission to parlia-

1679 ment. In the same sitting, at the king's express command, eighteen assistants, the number prescribed by the charter, were chosen, instead of, as hitherto, ten. Men had till now always striven to give these posts to persons of rank and education. It is difficult to say what had really made the government restrict itself for fifty years to so small a number, as this



assembly gave the deputies disproportionate weight in the choice of officials, where the voices of the whole assembly told. It is, therefore, not improbable that this body had set itself against increasing the number, though no evidence of such an attempt can be found. At first, when many of the nobility were still awaited in New England, it had been agreed to reserve several assistantships for them; but we must leave the reader in doubt why, when this hope had long been given up, the upper chamber did not earnestly insist upon the filling up of their number, which, with the plain words of the charter, the deputies could not long have refused.

Massachusetts had now fulfilled more of the king's demands, though some were circumvented; there only remained unnoticed his order to send new agents to deliver up the charter, which they neither could nor would send, and hence delay seemed at first the only thing advisable. The king was to be soothed by a submissive address, setting forth as excuse the insecurity of the sea from pirates, who had already robbed a ship with an agent from Connecticut on board, and their poverty and inability in such a case to ransom their agent.

They tried in the same way to justify themselves on the second point which aroused the king's displeasure; viz. the purchase of Maine, without, however, hinting at giving it up. The wisdom of this step may well be doubted. Maine was inhabited by hostile savages, and, as a boundary, difficult to defend against the French and Indians; the white population, at most 4,000 souls, was scattered along the coast; the interior of the land lay as yet untrodden, an interminable wilderness, offering countless safe retreats to open or secret foes;

the last defensive war alone had cost Massachusetts from £8,000 to £10,000. An English neighbouring colony in the north-east would have offered them an excellent defence against the French ; this was felt by many, and a proposal made to sell the province to the highest bidder, and thus help to cover the war expenses. But the ambitious desire of more territory, supported by the request of the puritanical part of the inhabitants of Maine, carried the day.

Meanwhile, the position of matters was no longer the same. Maine, gained by the charter, had enjoyed all its privileges ; it was a part of the commonweal, sent representatives to the general assembly, and some of the republican pride of Massachusetts had spread to her : but Maine—the land bought from Gorges—became a province of the colony. According to the constitution projected by Sir F. Gorges, it was to be governed, being responsible to Massachusetts, by a council, of which Thomas Danforth, vice-governor of Massachusetts, was named president.

1679 Danforth was a man of upright republican opinion and strict integrity : he did what he could to reconcile the contending parties and conciliate their clashing interests. The council which assisted him was selected by the government from the most respectable men in the colony. Meetings of the people, in which, as prescribed by the constitution, the majority decided, and at which the president, who lived at Cambridge, near Boston, was present, were regularly held. Although the colonists of Maine thus appeared to have lost few of their immunities, their pride was hurt at being the province of a colony : on this one point both

parties were united, whilst the old strife between them continued, and the episcopalians canvassed for the king's direct interference. This disposition was eagerly favoured by Major Andros—soon more hostile than even Sir Edmund to Massachusetts. He was governor of the Duke of York's two provinces, that is New York and Penaquid, or the land between the Kennebeck and St. Croix. Massachusetts, therefore, could not take possession without using force; but the government acted with its usual decision, and sent troops to hold the contumacious in check.

On the other hand, New Hampshire had, according to the judicial decision, been set free by Massachusetts, and the land was meanwhile governed by royal commission, except three small settlements direct from Massachusetts, and indebted to her for their immunities: these still remained under her authority, though parts of them extended more than three miles northwards from the Merrimack.

New Hampshire, when allowed by Massachusetts to become self-dependent, had not more than four towns, the two western of which were, at most, three German miles from the sea. The whole inland was still uncultivated, and mostly unexplored. The four towns, Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton, contained about 4000 white settlers. Portsmouth was by far the largest town, populous, and so prosperous in trade that, in the New England settlements, it was only outstripped by Boston; the council, and president chosen from the most respectable men in the colony, merchants and landholders, were devoted to the interests of Massachusetts. All the members, from time to time, took part in

the administration, as deputies of their towns: they saw the separation unwillingly, and now received the commission with the greatest dissatisfaction. They were only the representatives of the disposition of the people, who, since Mason's claim had been agitated afresh, had in the meeting loudly expressed their wish to abide by Massachusetts; the general assembly of Boston had, therefore, the satisfaction of receiving, from the present government of New Hampshire, a farewell address; in which, in the name of the burghers, they thanked them for their upright and careful administration, and assured them that only the king's will separated them.

The further history of New Hampshire shows that this was only an apparent separation. During the forty years' union, her inhabitants had imbibed all that independent republican spirit which characterized Massachusetts among the colonies of New England; and we shall see how the new race, engendered and reared in the mountain air of the "granite state," opposed an energetic defiance to all attacks on what it considered its well-won rights.

In the new constitution the king was represented by a council which he named—the people by elected deputies. Both bodies formed the assembly, whose decisions the king not only subjected to the veto of a state-holder, to be sent afterwards, but the confirmation of which he reserved for himself, even in case of complete harmony among the three branches of the administration. So long as the people and government were united—that is, so long as the latter consisted exclusively of those of the land and of patriots—all went smoothly; but this could not last long. The result of the first assembly—

a code of laws compiled in the severe Old Testament spirit of Massachusetts—was rejected in England as “absurd and unfit.” Robert Mason, looked on at court as the manor lord of New Hampshire, came now with a royal commission to admit him to the council. Huge stretches of waste lands—impenetrable woods—lay all around ; not only in all the western land bounded by the Piscataqua and Merrimack, but even in the east, by the sea, there were large tracts of pasture and woodland as yet unowned, opened to common use, between the sedulously-cultivated fields and the hedged-in garths. Here the cattle of the whole neighbourhood found rich food ; here every one felled wood for his own use ; and he who could pay those who would do it for him, found in Portsmouth a haven to carry it to the transmarine market. This lasted till a new settler came, hedged in a part of it, and, after he had bought in any Indian claims with axes, shoes, blankets, &c., and obtained the permission of the government, took possession of it. A new neighbour would not have been welcome, and every farmer took care not to come too near those already settled ; which, however, often extended small towns for several miles, but secured them the free and convenient usufruct of the common lordless lands.

In England Mason had been advised to content himself with the right of property of the yet waste lands, and an hereditary tax on those cultivated ; but the first claim was as little recognized by the colonists as the other. The first gift to Mason had been abolished by five or six others ; portions of the land had been sold and re-sold ; not one of the present colonies had arisen under his auspices, and for fifty years not a word had

been said of his claims: probably, scarcely one of the present race in New Hampshire knew that a man of this name existed, or knew from his father that, by cultivating this wilderness, he had become his debtor. Those who had purchased a piece of waste land from the Indians, whom they regarded as the sole possessors, had made it cultivable by industry and perseverance, and thus first gave it value, were, after they had struggled half a century with a thousand dangers and privations, to learn that they were not the real owners; was it to be wondered at that they gruffly rejected Mason's unexpected claims?

Respecting the tax, a trifling sum, Mason resorted to representation and persuasion. He maintained more firmly his claims to the hedged-in lands, and thereby came in collision with the highest men in the country, who exported the wood in their ships, and were indebted to this trade for their prosperity. He wanted the council to support him in his rights, and took on the tone, and even the title, of Lord of New Hampshire, whose vassals they were. But this met with a firm resistance from the members of the council, seeing they were injured by his claims. Matters went so far that they wanted to take him prisoner, as a usurper of the royal power; but he escaped to England.

Here the influence of his patrons, enemies of New England's freedom, brought forth more decided steps. Mason gave up a fifth part of the tax to the king, who was then to support the government. Mason was to name the first governor, and concluded a treaty with Edward Cranfield, an avaricious, reckless adventurer, who did not scruple to give up a tolerably lucrative post

in England, as he hoped to enrich himself better in America. But he seems to have had a foreboding that the fifth part of a tax, which nobody would pay, would scarcely compensate for the £150 a year, ensured to him for seven years, and he therefore had the whole province of New Hampshire pledged to him for twenty-one years. He hoped to derive his chief income from fines, forfeited property, and appurtenances, which he reckoned would arise from the rebellious disposition of the inhabitants, and the lawsuits arising therefrom. Charles could not have found a more fitting instrument for the fatherly views of which he unweariedly assured the colonists. The settlers of New Hampshire must have previously known the opinions of their governor; the very first assembly sought to appease his avarice by a present of £250, hoping thereby to detach him from the interest of Mason, whom they regarded as their enemy. Cranfield, however, instead of thanking them for the present, thought he had aright to make demands; an obstinate fight arose about rights and immunities, and the governor, vexed at not being able to bend their obstinacy, dissolved.

A tumult was the immediate result. Despotism rules of government as minister of the law were nothing new to the settlers of New Hampshire, but it was (and is) the selfish who touch the sorest spot. The opposition was restricted to a small part of the people, and their respect for the law and authorities was such, that a jury by no means hostile to him condemned Edward Gore, the ringleader, to death. He was transported to England, begged for mercy, and escaped with some years' imprisonment.

Meanwhile, Mason renewed his claims, and soon after his arrival the governor had issued a summons keeping a house and farm to procure themselves, in a month, "farm letters" from the owners of the land. Many resolved to pay a quit-rent merely to be free of this plague, and thus to ingratiate themselves with the government in power. The majority stood out for free possession and unconcernedly let Mason bring the matter before court. But both judge and jury were only chosen from those who paid the rent, the more independent being gradually deprived of all influence; yet still it seemed a lost labour to try to settle the matter before court. In some places the suits stood still, the archives of the place having suddenly disappeared, and with them the necessary documents. Even where a friendly jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, the sentence could not be executed; the possessors neither drew back nor paid; they felled their wood as before, and drove their cattle out to pasture on the open meadow. Major Richard Waldron, one of the greatest landowners and oldest settlers, set an example of unshaken firmness. "My case is a leading case," he said; "if I lose my property, you all lose yours." In the noble part he afterwards played, as the fearless defender of the rights of his fellow-citizens, we unwillingly see the betrayer of the unhappy Indians who confidently placed themselves in his hands. His countrymen esteemed him highly, but Cranfield hated him bitterly, and before long contrived to expel him from the council.

Another object of his hate was Vaughan, a man of like standing with Waldron. The despotism of these measures, which in many points overstepped the gover-



nor's instructions, made the inhabitants assemble and secretly send over an agent to England to lay their complaints before the king. It is an old touching superstition of the people which makes them dream that their ills are all owing to bad counsellors and faithless ministers, and that they have only to reach the ears of the prince to be certain of redress. Such glory irradiates the name of king, that even the profligate Charles, only because he, during the twenty-three years he governed, had done no harm to these his distant subjects, still enjoyed their confidence; they still believed he wished them well!

Bad things had happened, and still worse were to be feared, from what Mason and Randolph said. The business of the latter as collector often led him to Portsmouth to assist his vicegerent, Barefoot, one of those creatures indigenous to despotism, and who had to struggle with the contempt as well as the hatred of his fellow-citizens. They talked of their influence in England, threatened violent steps, which, perhaps, they neither intended nor durst take, and thereby embittered men more and more. Nathaniel Weare, the agent, therefore, provided with instructions and depositions, went to England to complain to the king and board of trade how much the governor had overstepped his instructions. Vaughan was particularly active in this step, and was rewarded by the redoubled hatred of Cranfield, and nine months' imprisonment. Meanwhile, the governor unweariedly hoarded up all he could extort by arbitrary taxes, fines, and the sale of offices. By the expulsion of all free-thinking members whom he supplanted by his own creatures, he had made the council quite serviceable. But

it belonged to the general assembly to grant money, and the lords of the board of trade had distinctly referred him to it when he complained of the difficulty of obtaining money.

No means were left untried. Under the pretext that an attack of the French was threatened, an assembly was suddenly called to procure the money necessary for defence. But the firm men of New Hampshire, thoughtful and chary in all things, especially in money matters, declared that they did not see the danger, and refused the money. Too weak to coerce where he could not outwit, Cranfield revenged himself on the "greedy thickheads" in a way that shows the meanness of his soul. By his influence in the courts he contrived to have some of the most respectable and obstinate of the deputies made constables of, an office which duty forbids a republican citizen to refuse. The rich had to buy themselves off for £10, a sum not easy for any countryman in New Hampshire to pay; the poor had to undergo the duty.

A month after, a new attempt was made, and this time laid only before the more willing council. Worried by carefully spread reports of warlike movements of the Indians in the East, the members allowed themselves to be decided on granting a sum on their own responsibility, and raising it by a general tax.

But there was not one of the people who did not know that that tax was illegal in which the representatives of the general assembly did not concur; the most resolute declared they would rather die than pay. Leagues were formed to assist each other in withstanding the illegal demand; no one paid, the constables re-

ported, and a command was issued to use force; the constables who refused to perform the office of catch-pole, and the householders who refused to pay the tax, were thrown into one prison, and the cattle and utensils of the latter seized. In Portsmouth and Dover, where the more respectable dwelt, it appeared to some better to sacrifice a trifle till an answer came from England. But in Exeter the farmers defended their hearths, driving back the sheriffs with clubs, while their wives held tubs of boiling water ready in case of need. In Hampshire it was still worse; whenever a sheriff made an attempt to execute his office, he was seized, maltreated and deprived of his sword, set upon a horse, a cord bound round his neck, and his feet tied; after which he was led over the boundaries of Massachusetts. The leaders of these tumults were seized, but on their way to prison were rescued by other bands: the judge who condemned, and the sheriff who took them, were alike ill-treated by the rude multitude. The militia cavalry, under Mason's command, were called out, but no one came.

Cranfield perceived that he could do nothing against the law so long as he had no power of his own. He had already tried to induce the ministry to send over a ship of war. "Without visible power," he wrote to the board of trade, "the people of New Hampshire could scarcely be kept in order, nor could the king's commands or the navigation act be carried out."

Every enemy of the colony saw with disgust the influence of the clergy, and held them to be the bitterest foes of the violence of the crown. "Till the unruly preachers are driven out of the province," wrote Randolph, "there will be no quiet here."

Perhaps it would scarcely have come to this uproar if Cranfield had not roused such vexation by attacking what men deemed most holy. Moody, preacher in Portsmouth, a firm God-fearing man, had drawn his especial hatred by a characteristic occurrence. Randolph, intimate with Cranfield, always active and spying, had laid an embargo on a ship which lay ready to sail with a freight that could only find a market in England. In the night she suddenly disappeared. The captain of the port was punished, but the owner escaped by swearing that he knew nothing of it, and a proper present decided the governor and collectors on letting it pass.

But the owner was a member of the church, and could she thus overlook the sin of one of her sons? Moody brought the matter before the governor, expressing a wish to be convinced, by a look into the papers, whether he was innocent or not. Cranfield took him up, rejected his interference, and forbade him to take another step in the matter. He hated the discipline of the puritanical church, and in this particular case it threatened to give a death-blow to his good name. But Moody would not be diverted, and preached against the perjury; he spoke to the conscience of the erring son of the church, and so great was his influence, as, indeed, was always that of the church in puritan communities, that the penitent freely confessed, and did penance before the whole community.

Who can describe Cranfield's rage? Every thing should be tried to break this destructive moral rule. The governor's previous orders to commemorate Christmas, and observe the 30th of January as a day of penance,

remained unnoticed, as did the order to admit to the communion all persons who desired it, and to do so in the form prescribed in the prayer-book. Thereupon, he informed Moody, by the sheriff, that on certain days he would take the communion after the ritual of the church of England, but Moody refused. In fact, he durst not comply with this request, as the laws of England allow no one to impart the sacrament who has not been confirmed by a bishop, and Cranfield had doubtless laid this snare for him, as he really scoffed at every thing religious, while he pretended a yearning for the most holy. Moody was accused, condemned by interested judges to six months' imprisonment, and, without being allowed to see his relatives, was kept thirteen weeks in strict confinement, till strong intercession procured his release. Moody's benefice, that is, the salary his community paid him, fell to the king.

This was not enough. There was in Hampton one Seaborn Cotton, a son, born at sea, of John Cotton the preacher, whose name perhaps made him so much noticed. He also received a message from the governor, that "so soon as he had prepared his soul, he would come to Hampton to receive the communion as in Portsmouth." Cotton fled, and escaped Moody's fate. In Exeter there was at that time no appointed preacher; what saved those in Dover is not known. The churches of both towns, however, remained closed. In Portsmouth, during a year, there was twice divine service, which was during a journey of Cranfield's, when Mason performed his office for a short time. For either Mason was less inhuman, or he wished to be on good terms with those he was to be longer in connexion with than Cranfield.

Hence he twice allowed Vaughan and Moody to see their families, but yet he could not appease the wrath of the inhabitants, which especially fell on him.

Cranfield, after this abortive attempt, had given up all hope of ever extorting a fortune here. He begged hard of the board of trade to employ him elsewhere. "I would regard it as the greatest luck in the world," he said, "to be able to quit this senseless people. They scoff at the king's officer, not at me; no one will ever be welcome among them who fulfils the king's commands."

Weare, provided with more documents to prove Cranfield's illegal proceedings, had brought his complaints before the lords, who saw they had at least mistaken their tools. The king ordered Vaughan's suit to be tried in the upper court, in the name of the settlers, against Mason, and till it was decided to stay the execution of the sentence given by the colonial courts.

1685

Cranfield was summoned to defend himself against his accusers, and at the same time recalled, in conformity with his repeated wish. But although formally accused of having overstepped his instructions, and even, in Mason's affair, of having acted expressly contrary to them, we do not find that he was ever called to account; and in England he never seems to have been spoken of as deserving punishment. On the contrary, he was, in recompense of his shattered hopes, put into a lucrative collector's post in Barbadoes, where a better result put him in a better disposition. The courteousness and friendship which, while in this office, he showed to the shippers from Portsmouth, created in the colony the report, that he was ashamed of the passionate and

unjust behaviour to which his avarice had impelled him when governor, and wished to make it good in every possible way.

He had left behind, his vicegerent, Barefoot, who filled his office until a royal commission brought the government of New Hampshire and Massachusetts under Dudley. The deep contempt of the people for a child of their renegade country made Barefoot's position hard enough. Contrary to the king's command, he let the execution be carried in Mason's favour, who was his friend and inmate; but in Dover the officials who wanted to expel the possessors from their property met with open resistance. An arrest warrant was prepared to seize the factious; it was Sunday, and the community were assembled, when the officers broke in upon them; a tumult arose, in which the women took part. One young lady, whose "dear friend" was perhaps to be carried to prison, struck an officer a blow with her bible which laid him on the ground; where a woman's hand falls so heavy, we may guess what a man's fist can do. The officers had to give way.

A still more scandalous uproar took place in Barefoot's house. Two farmers went to Mason to make some representations to him, which were so expressive, that he seized one of them by the collar to thrust him out of the room. But this was not so easy, and a row ensued, in which Barefoot came to Mason's help; but the two countrymen remained victors, and the others came off with broken ribs and divers wounds. Nay, one of them broke before his eyes Mason's sword, which one of his servants brought him, and laughed at his impotent fury. Enraged, and despairing of any result, he also went to England.

For the next five years New Hampshire remained again in close union with Massachusetts, although, as we shall see, unhappily for her.

Meanwhile, the long delay of Massachusetts in sending agents in obedience to the king's command had produced great ill-feeling. And yet there was in this certainly less defiance of independence than in the ten years which followed the rejection of the royal commission, which though as undutiful, as unwise, from what side we view it, was yet patiently borne by the king. But here was seen that characteristic of the Stuarts so fatal to them; the unjudging inconsistency with which they at one time gave up their royal prerogative when they ought to have maintained their dignity, and, at another, claimed rights and advantages which injured and disturbed their subjects.

Many months after the time appointed they were again summoned to send their agents. But Stoughton and Samuel Nowel, who were chosen by the government, steadily refused to undertake the task: the latter was described by Randolph "as formerly a factious preacher." Thus the thing again went on and was willingly allowed to do so, although, while men were intent on removing the chief cause of complaint, there was no want of fresh ones. Randolph, who, as mere overseer of the execution of the navigation act, could do nothing, came over a second time to America, provided with a royal commission naming him collector of the export and import taxes, the profits of which were to accrue to him, not to the crown. William Dyre, a man previously sent for this purpose, whose commission extended over the whole north coast, seems to have found



the thorns likely to grow out of such an intercourse with Massachusetts, and we hear nothing further of him. But Randolph at once laid his powers before the general assembly, and when no notice was taken of this he had an intimation affixed to the town-house, but it was taken down by Marshall, the government beadle. In the meantime his office seems to have been silently recognized; but without opposing him openly, they laid all possible obstacles in his way.

These obstacles did not come solely from the government. The people felt that their prosperity would be ruined by the strict execution of the navigation act, while the merchants in the mother country were enriched. The evasions of it were promoted on every side; and when cases came before the court, the detested collector could only expect a prejudicial verdict from a partial jury. Thus he saw himself bitterly deceived in his pecuniary hopes, and complaint after complaint of the contempt of the king's authority roused the anger of the exasperated monarch.

Another earnest letter, warning them to send agents to justify themselves as to the manifold complaints, and submit to the king's conditions, was not without result. In England a struggle had begun against the best founded free corporations, and they could not hope to escape. In a general assembly called for the purpose, in mid-winter, it was resolved to comply with the king's request and once more to send agents. The voices were more divided than ever, but at last they were joined for Stoughton and Joseph Dudley. Stoughton again refused the office, whereupon a merchant of the name of Richards was chosen. He was this year assistant,

and belonged decidedly to the popular side ; he was out of the lower class, nay, if we may believe Randolph, he came to the country a servant, but had grown rich by business, and had the reputation of high integrity. Poor hopes accompanied the agents, but there was no lack of ardent prayers for their success. Fast and prayer days were appointed throughout the country, that all believers might unite in praying for God's blessing on the mission, and for the preservation of their charter !

In the interim the political parties of Massachusetts had grown more decided, and the chasm between them wider. Governor Broadstreet belonged to the party of moderates, called prerogative men by the zealous combatants of freedom in England, and yet in the opposite party there was not one who did not acknowledge him to be a friend of his country. At the time the charter came over he had come to America, a young assistant, and by long experience, by acknowledged probity and knowledge of business, as by close relationship with some men of influence,\* he had acquired a weight which his moderate endowments and small energy scarcely seemed to justify. After the ill success of the royal commission in 1664, a strong sense of right made him vote for complying with the king's mandate of sending full powers to England to conduct their affair before his tribunal. "I fear," he said then, "we are not in the right path for our safety," and had it entered in the acts, that he did not concur with the government in its doubts as to the legitimacy of the king's demand, on

\* He had married Dudley's eldest daughter, a woman of intellect, and a poetess.

which it sought to base its delay. With the renewed danger, he saw in a partial concession, the only means of preserving their charter, and in certain alterations of it according to the king's pleasure, the only safety for its real advantages: wisdom counselled rather to lose a part than the whole. Besides, he knew too accurately the history of the charter; he knew too well that its givers had never thought of such an extension, as the receivers of it had gradually given to its equivoques, not to strive against the abuse of it.

Another head of this party was Stoughton. He also wished his country well; but, blindly devoted to puritanical views, or, as Randolph expressed it, "of the old leaven," church freedom was greater than political: wise and cautious in business, grown gray in situations of importance, he possessed that confidence of his countrymen which experience, and a certain honesty, never fail to win. Moderate, where an opposite quality was dangerous, his zeal yet knew no bounds when fanatic superstition befogged his naturally sound judgment. Without being cruel, he wielded the sword of justice with merciless severity, when, in bigotted blindness, he dreamed "the fear of God" commanded it. Opinionative, disagreeable and restless towards equals and inferiors, he was only complaisant towards those in power; and if it were true that *fear of God* had made him hard and cruel, *fear of man* had made him pliable. He was very intimate with Dudley, and with the two clergymen, the Mathers—father and son—who, as great scholars and favourite preachers, were highly respected, and who knew how to prize the influence they exerted, in the name of the God of Israel and the elected of his church, on Stoughton's stiff puritanism.

Dudley, the third of the moderates, had, years before, appeared on the scene as the defender of the royal prerogative ; but he soon saw that this opinion did not gain for him the love of the people, for what they, with sound judgment, admired in Bradstreet, and pardoned in Stoughton, they despised in Dudley as slavishness and selfishness ; so that he began to be more and more reserved with it. Gnawed by ambition, thoroughly selfish, close out of timidity—not from wickedness—he sought, above all things, for Randolph's good opinion and intercession, and to gain the favour of the opponent of his people by courteousness of all kinds, bitter complaints as to the party of the patriots and the assurance of unbounded loyalty. Sent as agent to England,

1680 he soon saw how the matter stood. Randolph had previously handed in a complaint against the Bostonians, and had pledged himself to prove that they were mere usurpers, who had no right either to ground and soil, or to self-government, but had contrived to obtain grace ; whilst they had converted themselves into an independent republic, had sheltered the king's murderers, and yearly cheated his majesty out of hundreds of thousands, by violating the trading laws, &c. Among the grounds of complaint was their coining ; and, without doubt, it was this which again brought the matter under consideration, after it had been silently passed over in England more than twenty years. Shortly before the arrival of the agents, a new complaint had come in from their unwearied foe, Randolph, especially directed against the "faction" which thwarted him in the exercise and benefits of his office, and at the head of which stood vice-governor Danforth. The

knowledge of all these particulars had in England increased the number of the powerful foes of Massachusetts. The agents saw clearly that the charter was lost, and only the choice remained to give it up to the king's discretion, or to wait the decision of justice upon it.

Dudley employed the mission to the court, which he could not use to the advantage of his country, to his own advantage; and, by protestation of the most loyal principles, sought to ingratiate himself with the powerful, to whom he was introduced by Randolph's influence. The words with which this contemptible being introduced him to the Bishop of London—"When he finds that matters are treated with decision, he will bend and bow to everything; he has to make his fortune in the world; and if his majesty, after altering the government, makes him commander of the fortresses, &c., he will win a popular man, and bind the better party to him"—show the commander as well as the commanded one; but Randolph did not know Dudley, when he thought his ambition, which strove after the highest, would ever content itself with a subordinate post. The report of his fawning conduct had penetrated to the colony, and had raised such anger among the people, that at the two next elections he was excluded from the magistracy; after he had been for years, first among the deputies, and then among the assistants. This must have hurt him deeply, for he loved his country well, and his people, nay, even their institutions; and amid the lucrative and respectable posts to which the favour of the powerful afterwards elevated him, he yearned towards his home and a grave in his fatherland. We shall see him in possession of the highest honours, in strong opposition to more

than the half of the nation ; hated, nay detested, so long as he belonged to the striving, who spare no means to attain their goal ; and at last, after the appeasing of his avarice had damped his passions, conciliating the greater part of his enemies by his wisdom, tenacity and moderation. His sons, Paul and William, who as youths appeared already in political life, and the sons of the heads of the opposite party, continued the fight of their fathers to the next generation.

At the head of this opposite party stood vice-governor Danforth and Daniel Gooki, the friend of the Indians, the only man who, amid the passions lighted up by the horrors of war, remained their protector, and thus drew down on his head the reproaches of his colleagues and the scorn of the people, who greeted him with hisses and abuse whenever he appeared in the streets. He, like Peter Tieton and Samuel Nowel, belonged to the old severe puritanical school, who declared submission to encroachments on their rights was sinful, and that their present embarrassments were a punishment for their apostacy from the authorities and clergy. They were joined—but more in respect to civic liberty—by Eliza Cooke, Richards, Fisher, and several others. They would not hear of any submission to the royal will, nor have either agents sent or the Navigation Act carried out ; and considered the giving up of a single letter of the charter equivalent to a renunciation of the whole, and of their freedom.

The news the agents sent, as to the position of their affairs in England, was so disheartening, that the general assembly had, *nolens volens*, to think about conciliating arrangements. Again, contrary to the king's command,

the powers of the agents did not extend to the surrender of a part of their charter. When Sir Lionel Jenkins, secretary of state, before whom they were to lay their instructions, was made acquainted with this, they were not admitted; and the declaration was made to them, that if they could not, in the shortest possible time, produce the necessary authorization to satisfy his majesty in every point, a *quo warranto* would be issued against their charter. Already the charters of the different corporations, though with forced submission, had been given into the hands of the crowned despot. London alone, and of the colonies, Bermuda, still resisted, and *quo warrantos* were in process against them.

When this news came to New England, the movement which for some years had agitated the whole colony of Massachusetts reached its climax. The great question, which fell not only on the government but also on the whole colony, was—"Shall we give up the charter—the heritage of our fathers—and trust the oft-repeated promises of the king, only to make trifling restrictions absolutely necessary for his position; or shall we stand upon our good right, and wait for a *quo warranto*?"

In the assembly, this question was the occasion of long tedious sittings and deliberations: they had not forgotten to try and gain their aim by other ways. The government condescended so far as to write to the miserable Randolph, who had followed their agent to England to strike the last blow, and beg of him not to act a hostile part towards them. The shameless answer of the fortune-hunter, who suddenly saw himself in the position of a patron, was the merited reward for this trouble. Cranfield on a visit to Boston had advised

them to gain the king's favour by a present, and had promised, as he was on the point of leaving for England, to make the most favourable representations of their affairs. In consequence of this they accredited their agents for 2000 guineas, which they were to use "for the private service of his majesty ;" but Cranfield maliciously spread beforehand the report of such an attempt at bribery, which consequently—though by no means unheard-of at the English court—durst not be attempted. Besides this, Cranfield revenged himself for his shattered hopes, as governor of New Hampshire, on all the puritans, by exaggerated representations of their republican and rebellious sentiments.

And now the decisive word as to their future prospects was to be spoken. The preachers, according to custom, were once more called in. "For the last time," says Hutchinson, "the clergy cast the balance." Their opinion, which agreed with that of the majority, was drawn up in a paper by Increase Mather, one of their chief men, and is one of the most dignified documents of that time. "Better," they said, "to fall by the violence of others, than by their own weakness ; by submission they could only lose, and gain nothing. Their enemies counselled them to submit, because they knew that this was the surest road to slavery. It would be much easier to reverse an unjust sentence, when more favourable times came, than to win back what they gave up, confiding in the king's grace. Better trust God than man. *Their religion and the belief of the court* could not exist together. Their forefathers, threatened like them, had not submitted ; and they had inherited from them their religious, their civic liberties. And should they give



up the heritage of their fathers? That were a sin, a breaking of the sixth commandment, for man should no more destroy his political than his natural being. Better suffer than sin; and their sufferings for the good cause, and because they hearkened rather to God than man, would hand down their names as martyrs to coming generations."

Thus they thought and felt; and the agents were again enjoined to keep by the charter, but, in case of need, to give up Maine. At the same time an address was sent to the king, signed not only by the government, but also by a number of private persons, and the handing in of it left to the discretion of the agents; but they, after the last decision, had nothing more to do in England. A few months after, they came back to Boston; and in the same week came Randolph, bearing the death-knell of their freedom, for he had with him a writing, called in English law a *quo warranto*, which put an end to their political existence.

The deepest hatred of the people greeted the detested being who with such unwearied activity lighted the pile on which their freedom was to be sacrificed. So great was their hatred of him, that when, the day after his arrival in Boston, a fire broke out, which laid a great part of the town in ashes, together with several warehouses and ships, the report arose among the enraged people that it was his doing.

In England they did not wish to act without, at least, the semblance of justice. The committee of the board of trade had demanded of the law officers of the crown whether the charter of Massachusetts was not to be regarded as already forfeited by the *quo warranto* of 1638,

and hence no longer valid. But these jurists, without troubling themselves as to the gain or loss of their patron, answered, that the charter was valid, and not the old *quo warranto*. A new one could only be granted on account of offences committed since the act of oblivion. The enemies of New England called this answer *cold* and *evasive*.

To the *quo warranto* was added a declaration of the king, which once more opened to them the gate of grace. If the colony could bring itself to submit completely to the king's grace, he promised to make only such alterations as were absolutely necessary for his service and their welfare. Using at the same time the weapons both of grace and terror, two hundred copies of the report of the severe judicial proceedings against the city of London were sent over and distributed among the people.

These measures were not without result; the upper chamber wavered, and the influence of Broadstreet and Stoughton gained ground. Expressly referring to the king's promise to make the least possible alteration, they resolved to submit. But the real voice of the people was only to be heard in the chamber of deputies. There the resolution lay fourteen days, till the result of the debates came to light. It ran—"The deputies do not assent, and abide by their previous resolution."

This was the last step. They named Humphreys, an esteemed jurist in England, their pleader. The last date for the defence was fixed, but was so short that it arrived before the colony knew of it. Sir Henry Ashurst, their agent, protested and proved this before the court; but, as they were determined, no notice was

taken of it, and the keeper of the great seal declared that no more time need be given, as all corporations must hold their pleaders ready in London. The sentence was pronounced ; the charter declared forfeited.\*

Thus Massachusetts saw herself robbed of her free constitution, on which her founders had built her civic existence, and under the blessings of which she had for more than half a century so wonderfully bloomed and thriven. On the 18th of June, 1684, the sentence was pronounced. The formal declaration, with the judicial copy, were only received the following year, in July ; but the news of what had happened reached them soon, as well as that the king had appointed Colonel Kirke, a hard, cruel man, previously lieutenant of Tangiers, to be their governor. This choice shows best what Charles, notwithstanding his gracious assurances, intended towards the refractory colonies. But before his decision could be carried out, his illness and urgent business at home brought the plan to a stand-still. In the February of the following year died Charles II., too soon to give a death-stroke to any of the other colonies. 1685

Blaithwith, the secretary of state, announced to the government of Massachusetts the death of the king, and the ascension of the throne by his brother, the Duke of York. He did not forget to remark that he was not writing to them as to a government, and recommended them to proclaim James II. without delay ; which accordingly took place on the 20th of April, without joy or hope, but with all the necessary formalities.

\* The suit was tried before the High Court of Chancery, in the name of the King v. the Governor and Company, and decided for the king, on account of non-appearance.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

MASSACHUSETTS WITHOUT A CHARTER.—FATE OF THE  
OTHER COLONIES.—REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.—FROM  
1685 to 1689.

IN Massachusetts a sullen feeling of heavy oppression lay on the minds of men, as for years, crippled in every limb by a despotic sentence, they looked with fear and reluctance towards an uncertain future. Fifty years of political life had sufficed to show them the worth of independent citizenship; there were few of the present race who had not imbibed, with their mother's milk, the conviction that to have their civic fate dependent on the will of another, either good or bad, is a kind of slavery which dishonours the free-born man. What fate was preparing for them? The mother country, the home of their fathers, was indescribably dear to them. Amidst all their murmurs and complaints, not a single voice was raised for revolt from the king, who had robbed them of their rights; for allegiance to another power, who, from policy, would have protected their privileges—though this was often feared in England, where men did not understand the peculiarity of their temper, and overrated their physical strength. The gloomy spirit of the people, which could not accustom itself to this new condition, rather showed itself in an apparent apathy.

Nothing was done, for no one knew what he durst do. By the fireside the future was often talked over ; in the pulpit many a strong word issued from the bolder of the clergy. Moody, now preacher in Boston, and Increase Mather, gave offence to those in power. Afterwards, when the news of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion came across the sea, men began to stir—and perhaps the bold spirit of the colonists would have broken out, if the account of the speedy suppression of that ill-managed affair had not followed too soon. While report after report came over from England—now that the king had confirmed the appointment of the dreaded Kirke—now that he would send another governor—all went on as usual. In this gloomy state the day of election drew nigh, and the wonted 1685 elections were made ; but many townships sent no deputies, doubting if they were entitled to do so after the abolition of the charter.

But, even in these elections, the disposition of the people showed itself most clearly. He who had voted for the surrender of the charter, was sure of having fewer voices than usual. Even Broadstreet,—generally beloved and esteemed, and, as the veteran of the commonweal, certain for years of highest dignity,—this time only gained the day over Danforth, the man of the people, by a few voices. Dudley and William Brown, who belonged to his party—like Richards, who, though one of the patriots, had, as Dudley's companion in the last unfortunate mission, aroused mistrust—were completely left out, and in their place Cooke, Johnson, and Hutchinson, the most zealous champions of the charter, were chosen.

1686 Even in the election next year, Dudley was treated with marked neglect. But the time had come when he was to triumph over his foes. Three days after the election, came a royal frigate, which brought a commission, naming him president of the council, in whose hands the administration was for the time being to be placed.

Dudley was neither esteemed nor beloved, but still—after they had for two years anxiously dreaded the arrival of the monster Kirke, or some other creature of the court of King James—it was a comfort to see at the head of affairs a native born and grown up among them, knowing and sparing their prejudices, and, at least, in all appearance, a zealous son of the church. The members of his council were chosen from the pre-rogative men; among them governor Broadstreet and his son. Both refused the office, although Dudley himself, at the head of the council, betook himself to the governor's house to reveal to him the nomination: on the contrary, he and Increase Mather, the Christian counsellor of Dudley, "who had hung for years on what fell from his lips regarding the soul," as he himself expressed it, strove in vain to persuade him to decline the unpopular dignity. Nathaniel Saltonstall, a third of the elected, also refused to accept it. Among the other fifteen was Stoughton, very intimate with Dudley, who was named vice-president; the court confided in his loyalty, though his puritanical principles were in his way. Randolph, Mason, and Usher, a merchant in Boston and a degenerate son of the colony, were completely on the king's side. Peter Bulkley was of unsound mind. John Fitz and Wait Winthrop, grandson

of the first governor, worthy but unimportant people, seem to have been named on account of their popular names. The others followed the stream wherever it led them.

It was not unknown to Dudley that the present state of things, and consequently his standing, were only temporary. He had himself advised, after the abolition of the constitution, to prepare the colony by a native administration for a complete revolution. Hence his ambition was but little satisfied, and he felt severely in what light his countrymen regarded him; hence he strove zealously not to sink himself lower in their esteem, and to conciliate the most influential. He treated with the highest respect the clergy and all things belonging to the church. Business was for the most part managed in the old way. Both chambers had been dissolved immediately after the arrival of the royal commission, but not before they had warned Dudley against accepting this. In the meantime nothing was said about deputies, and Dudley, with the council in England, followed up the plan of a general constitution. All the affairs of the separate towns were managed in the same way, as also the judicial proceedings, at the head of which branch stood Stoughton, as chief judge. The spirit of the workers was jarred and crippled, but it was at the core the same. "The form of the government alone is changed," wrote Randolph, full of poisonous rage that the hated Bostoners were escaping so well. And then, complaining bitterly that all the higher posts were filled by native puritans, instead of with fortune hunters—sons of the English church—who came in shoals to plunder the overthrown

building, he says, "The persons, indeed, are different, but the administration is the same."

For the moment, no one was more bitterly deceived in his hopes than Randolph. The first lord of the treasury had indeed clothed him with the dignity of postmaster, but otherwise he was not satisfied. Instead of, as he advised, having the heads of the liberal party sent to England, there to answer for their misdeeds, men had contented themselves with taking away the constitution. Dudley, who employed him as a tool, while in his heart he detested him, treated him with coldness and contempt so soon as he had reached his aim. Instead of, as the other expected, supporting him in his office as collector, by which he hoped to enrich himself, he hindered rather than served him, and gave him cause to complain, that "even Danforth had treated him better than Dudley," whom he now called "a man of low, servile, anti-monarchic principles." Such is the friendship of the wicked.

Except this, Randolph's greatest ambition was to show himself a zealous son of the church of England, and he ceaselessly strove to have the dissenting churches supplanted by her, as the free constitution had been by a despotic government. The unwearied activity he employed against all that the colonies held dear, would have been worthy a better cause. In this respect the malice of his proposals is incredible, and was even reproved by his patrons, the bishops. Thus, for instance, he considered it only safe that no marriages should be acknowledged by the government except those confirmed by an episcopal clergyman. He repeatedly urged, that an episcopalian preacher, who was sent forth-



with to Boston, should be supported by a forced impost levied on the three congregational churches; but his efforts were fruitless to make the council fix a salary for him, which must have naturally come from the pockets of the burghers. The principle was as old as the colony itself, that those who "hired" a preacher should pay for him, and hence his repeated proposals fell to the ground. He made the same tireless attacks as to the money of the society for the conversion of the Indians, and his knavish insinuations of how this money was disposed, show his malice. But once more his hands were tied, right and custom still went for something. He looked with impatience to the coming of a general governor.

Dudley's commission included Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and the Narragansett land, called King's Province. Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, still struggled, albeit with powerless words, for their rights and immunities, which regal fancy had given to the two last, as much without a cause as it now took them away, although this last act was one of more consistent despotism. The fate of Massachusetts had hitherto absorbed all interest for the other colonies, and we must take up the thread of their history from the time of Philipp's war, of which the results were not alike for all.

In comparison with the others, Connecticut had suffered little. The drama of war had never more than flitted over her favoured soil; her warriors had, in their brave undertakings, been wonderfully protected by good fortune, so that, in this respect also, her loss was less than that of the other colonies. The exertions they had

made to get troops ready were covered, in a few years, by great exertions.

The struggle with Rhode Island for the Narragansett land broke out anew after the war. The claims made to this, first sold by the Society of Plymouth to the Duke of Hamilton, then given, at the same time, by the king to the colony of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and then claimed by him on account of the submission of the Indians, produced a confusion ; surpassing even that of the gifts and sales in Maine. In 1680 a commission of inquiry was appointed by the king ; which, although Cranfield was at the head of it, seems to have been conducted with industry and without especial partiality. Randolph, the foe of all New England's colonies, appeared in it as agent for the Duchess of Hamilton. According to the decision of this commission, the lands belonged to those who had purchased them from the Indians ; but the government to Connecticut, which did not at all satisfy Rhode Island.

Rhode Island, though not directly implicated, had suffered much more than Connecticut. To the Indians all Englishmen, except Roger Williams, were enemies. Tradition tells how the venerable man, who with unwearied diligence prepared the militia for defence, when he saw the approaching Narragansetts on the heights to the north of Providence, took his staff in his hand, and, confiding in the eloquence God had lent him, and with which he had so often succeeded in appeasing their wrath, boldly advanced towards the furious bands. But some of the older chiefs, who knew him, hastened when they saw him, and urgently begged of him to withdraw ; as, with the great commotion which raged amongst their

young men, they could not protect him if he ventured among them. It is an historical fact that, although seventy-six years old, he stood as lieutenant at the head of a column which he drilled. The country round was waste: he who could, fled to Newport on the island. This island, the garden and granary of the land, when need required, had been spared by war; the villages, also, were soon built up again. The colony, however, having taken no part in the war, laboured under no debt in 1680: they boasted to the Board of Trade that they had neither a vagabond nor a beggar in the land. Of the 1000 grown-up male inhabitants not more than one-half were possessed of land, but all had enough; the number of the towns had increased to nine, of which Newport was the principal.

The inhabitants of this colony had never really cherished the proud wish of Connecticut and Massachusetts to be independent; hence, in 1664, they received the commissioners with reverence for the king's name, to whom, besides, they really felt grateful for having granted them a free constitution. They dreaded more the oppression of Massachusetts near to them—jealous, and more than their equal—than that of powerful, distant England. The contempt they had met with from the other colonies for their tolerance, or, as it was it called, indifference, and their negative manner of governing, had gradually embittered them against the others, especially Massachusetts. The breach naturally widened as the quakers, detested and despised by the other colonies, gained ground among them; till even one or another of this sect was repeatedly elected governor.

When Charles II. began war against all free consti-

tutions, they grew alarmed for theirs; and sought by humble, almost fawning letters of repeated assurances of their loyalty, to ward off the storm which afterwards fell upon them, and struck them down, like their bolder

1684 neighbours. Roger Williams, gray-headed and eighty-four years old, died shortly before the fall of the proud Massachusetts; whom he loved and honoured, however much he disapproved of her proud and intolerant spirit, whilst the other settlers gladly added a hue to the blackness cast on her by England. The Narragansett land—the apple of discord in all the New England colonies—declared by the commissioners in 1665 to be the king's province, though the administration of it was left to the colonies, and again declared by the commission of 1680 to belong to Connecticut—had been placed, since 1686, in Dudley's circle of administration. Rhode Island maintained her charter half a year longer, till it was taken away by James II., who, unlike his brother, was not liberal, even when in good humour.

We have already followed Plymouth during the war, the whole fury of which she was made to feel. Poor—with but a small trade and unfruitful soil—she recovered most slowly. It was not without unpleasant feelings that she saw herself so quickly outstripped by the two younger colonies—Massachusetts and Connecticut. At the beginning there was no want of strife with both, which, however, sound policy and Christian brotherhood repressed before it came to a complete rupture; but a hatred remained against Massachusetts, so anxious to play the dictator's part. If we may believe Randolph, this feeling occasioned Josiah Winslow, their governor,

to complain very bitterly at his first mission against the arrogance of Massachusetts towards their common enemy. It is probable that Philipp's lands were the immediate cause of this; as Massachusetts, like Rhode Island, laid claim to them, while Plymouth thought she had the best right to them, as her troops alone had conquered them; from their position, they, in some measure seemed to belong to her territory, and, by a gracious decision of the king, they fell to her as a recompense for the losses she had suffered.

In one respect, the position of Plymouth to England was more unfavourable than that of any other colony; for the patent by which, in 1629-30, the Society of Plymouth assured them their land, had never been confirmed by the king's seal. When, directly after the restoration, Connecticut and Rhode Island were so richly endowed with privileges, they wished for a share; but money was wanting to cover the necessary costs, and when they had raised it, the auspicious moment seemed to be passed. It was the hope of the king's favour which made them bend so to his commissioners, though their freedom was too dear to them to allow of its being sacrificed to this. From time to time they made attempts to procure a constitution; to have one like Connecticut was their wish, for 1680  
Massachusetts stood so low that they wished to 1683  
have no *souvenir* of her, although the two constitutions were exactly the same. The first time they were particularly unfortunate. Their agent, Cudworth, died directly after he landed in England; and, when their second petition arrived, the storm had already gathered which threatened ruin to all the charters of every cor-

poration: so that all they got was fair words and gracious promises. However, they did not abandon all hope, but acted with moderation, and even sought, by great politeness and assurances of loyalty, to win over Randolph to their interests. All in vain!

1684 When James mounted the throne, the great regard they met with gave them new spirits: they alone, of all the colonies of New England, received a royal letter, with the report of their partly-suppressed rebellion. Assuring the king of their loyalty, they appealed urgently to his brother's promises, and begged they might be fulfilled. But their fusion into a great northern state was already resolved upon, and their independence only lasted till Sir Edmund Andros—a chosen tool of their lord—could let them feel his iron rod. After Josiah Winslow's death, in 1680, Thomas Hinkley was their governor during Dudley's rule.

In December, 1686, Sir E. Andros, appointed general governor by the king, landed in Boston. He was accompanied by a troop of English soldiers, a new sight, with their red coats, for the colonists, who, regarding them as the tools of despotism, were filled with painful feelings. By recruitings in the country they were immediately augmented to two companies; for where the authorities are not supported by the love and reverence of a free people, they cannot dispense with arms. They were distributed to the two little fortresses, Fort Hill in the town, and Castle Island in the harbour. Sir Edmund seemed as if he wished to palliate the bad impression which these preparations made. He expressed himself decided on conducting the administration for the public weal, and, in accordance with his instruc-

tions, recommended the judges to proceed as usual, and all the colonial laws not opposed to those of England and his commission were to hold good, and the taxes and imposts to be raised as usual. His instructions also made it incumbent on him to tolerate no printing-presses in the country, as had been ordained in New York and Virginia.\* Perhaps this seemed to Sir Edmund too much at once, in a country where the people were so much accustomed to think and read as in New England.† He contented himself with appointing Randolph censor, without whose permission nothing could be printed; a power which he used with the most arbitrary malice. In this point the colonists were not spoiled, except that the censorship was used in a spirit which made them less submissive than the former moral and religious restraint of their own government.

Sir Edmund met with the less ill-will from the people of New England, as ever and anon a threatening report of the executioner Kirke came over. But he did not stand in good odour among them. In their occasional intercourse with him, as governor of New York and Pennaquad, the colonists had found him an arbitrary, despotic man, and unswerving servant to the king; now, when he was forced upon them, and they were robbed of their strength, it would have been difficult for the best and mildest man to conciliate them.

To the district of the new governor belonged, besides

\* In other colonies such a mental luxury had not been thought of. In Philadelphia one was erected next year, the third in America, Massachusetts having already two.

† It seems as if he had filled up this office before Sir Edmund's arrival, as there exists a three weeks' older forbiddal from him, to print an *almanack*.—Holmes, i. 429.

Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, to the St. Croix, Rhode Island, Plymouth, and Connecticut—in a word, all New England. To these were added, a year

1688 and a half after, New York and the Jerseys, Sir Edmund being appointed captain-general of these extensive lands; for the king expressed his wish, by uniting these powers, to strengthen himself against the French in Canada, while he allowed their influence to prevail in European matters. To him one colony was as good as another for augmenting the kingdom, whose centre he was. Not a shadow of regard was paid to the royal promises made to Plymouth, nor to the charters given to the other colonies. The former were robbed of their charter, without even a pretext having been urged against them that they had failed in their allegiance. Soon after James ascended the throne, a *quo warranto* was issued against the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, charging them with having violated the navigation act, and the latter of having allowed of no appeal to the king. The two colonies were cited to England to defend their claims before the court, and their charters, even before it was possible to send an agent, declared forfeited for non-appearance. Rhode Island declared she did not wish to dispute with her lord and king, and submitted to the violence with an unworthy, crouching humility. Connecticut

1686  
March in an urgent address, begged to be allowed to retain her independent constitution, the gift of his royal brother; but if that could not be, not to be incorporated with New York, but with Massachusetts, to which her sympathies leaned. This was accepted as a surrender of her charter, but till the arrival of the general all remained as usual.



About the same time New Jersey and, with equal tyranny, New York were deprived, the one of her charter, the other of all her privileges and rights. For the first of these provinces the owners had paid £12,000, and, besides this, had peopled it at their own expense with Scotch and other colonists; the other, without any pretext than the peeping forth of a noble spirit of freedom, was treated like a conquered province. It was the seat of the royal troops; and the spirit in which it was governed by Dongan, although he passed for an upright man, may be best gathered from Randolph's saying, when it was placed under Sir Edmund's rule, "That there was not much to be made of it, as Dongan and his people had already drained it dry."

The day after his arrival, Sir Edmund wrote to the governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and in the king's name demanded the giving up of their charters. The governor of Rhode Island, Walter Clarke, a quaker, promised to give up their charter, "at a more convenient time;" and Andros seems to have contented himself with this. Perhaps he thought the power by which he acted was more firmly seated than it really was, and that he need not grudge them the piece of parchment. He soon after went to Providence, declared the colony to be a part of his district, and broke their seal. He had previously admitted the governor and four others to his council.

He did not find time before harvest to go to Hartford. Perhaps the recollection of his former unsuccessful mission to Connecticut, and the resolute spirit he had met there, determined him on taking six hundred men with him.

1687  
January.

The general assembly was sitting at Hartford, and Connecticut had all the proud republican spirit of Massachusetts, but the feeling of her weakness had made her more yielding. Governor Trent had, in 1680, sworn to observe the navigation laws; and since then they had avoided every thing likely to give offence, and sought to propitiate the king by loyal addresses. But still they would gladly have avoided all that was not inevitable. Ever since the *quo warranto* was hung over their heads, and a dissolution of their free constitution impended, governors Dongan and Dudley had striven to incorporate this colony into their respective districts. Andros appeared before the assembly, and demanded their charter, which, after delay and with reluctance, they resolved to give up. At last the much-loved document was brought, laid upon the table, and the governor spoke sorrowfully over it. During the proceedings evening had drawn in; lights were brought, but were suddenly extinguished. No uproar ensued, but when the lights were again brought, the charter was gone. Joseph Wadsworth, a patriotic burgher of Hartford, had carried it secretly away, and hidden it in a huge hollow oak, still shown as the "charter oak," to the stranger who visits Hartford. After the fall of the Stuarts the beloved charter was again produced, under the shadow of which the settlement had bloomed so lustily, and more than a century rolled by ere the burghers of Connecticut thought it was possible to enhance upon the advantages it insured to them. Here, also, Andros seemed to care little for the lost parchment. He had the archives brought, and made the secretary write *finis* at the bottom; but the serviceable hand which wrote this was not the hand of a prophet, for after a short interval of three

years, many a chapter was added to them. Here, also, he took the governor and three others into his council.

Plymouth was treated with still less ceremony; Hinkley and some other men of standing were named councillors. It was governed in common by the previous rulers and councillors from their province, by virtue of a commission from Sir Edmund; but the least attempt at independent action was punished by him with the greatest arrogance. "I hope you will not forget your position," he wrote, reprovingly, to Hinkley, who continued in the old way to raise a tax from the people, for the support of their preacher. But Randolph had the audacity to speak to him in the same way, while he was yet governor, and too late did the leaders of Plymouth and Rhode Island find that all their humility and assumed friendship for a man whom they despised, had not brought them one step further than the pride and noble enmity of Massachusetts.

The public archives of Andros' administration no longer exist, and the history of the three years it lasted has necessarily some gaps in it. But documents enough have been handed down to us, to show that it was a web of despotism, vexatious selfishness, and unjust claims. His council, without whose assent he was to make no legislative enactments, consisted of nine and thirty members. But of these, who at the same time ruled the separate provinces, the most were seldom or never seen in Boston. Of the Massachusetters, only such were chosen as belonged to the liberal party, like Dudley, Stoughton, Brown, &c. They wished their country's weal, but, as Hutchinson said, they had shown they belonged more to the reed than the oak. But they were seldom troubled; his real confidants were

some men of New York, who he had previously seen would be the best tools of his despotic measures. His principal agents were, besides Randolph and Mason—of the council, Brookholt and Palmer—of the other officials, Graham, the advocate-general, and the secretaries Bullivant and West, the former an apothecary long settled in Boston. Among the natives, besides Dudley, Brown of Salem, and Usher, the master of the treasury, especially drew down the hatred of the people, whilst Stoughton, although he acted quite in common with Dudley, was in better odour among them, and it was believed that he only lent himself to this bad system to avoid a worse.

Dudley was chief judge, and Stoughton one of the two assessors at the upper court. Neither was inclined to go so far as the fortune-hunting strangers desired; but they were anxious to show themselves complaisant towards those in power, and contrived to find a jury to their mind. When it suited, a pretext was never wanting for taking the accused out of his country, and trying him before a strange tribunal, which paid more attention than a native one to the will of the powerful.

The king's commission gave the governor full power, with assent of the council, to agree with the planters and inhabitants "*respecting such estates, farms, and heritages as the king had or would have to administer*, for what moderate quit-rent, service, or other reservation, they were to be resigned to them," and confirm their possession with the royal seal. A further instruction ordered him "to cede and confirm such lands as the crown had to administer for a hereditary tax of two shillings and sixpence the hundred acres." It seems scarcely credible that the real possessions bought and made cultivable

out of their own purses, were to be understood as among the lands to be administered by the crown. But Andros and his creatures interpreted it so. The real possession of the property they had possessed more than half a century, was to be made dependent on the issuing of new patents for them. It would be no easy matter to expel them by one blow from their property, and violent steps were to be avoided, for once more the king spoke of "loving subjects" and "fatherly care." The perquisites and dues to be raised with these new patents were to atone for his restraint on the right of the strongest.

It might well have raised the wonder of the New England planters that they had to pay for their right to the wilderness, which their fathers and grandfathers had, with the sweat of their brows or the sacrifice of their fortunes, converted into a blooming land. They showed their letters of purchase, with the signs of the Indian settlers: "The scratch of a bear's claw would be worth as much," was the answer. They referred to the charter: "The charter is forfeited, and with it your right." "The calf in the womb of the cow died with her," was the phrase. Besides, the government had neglected to affix the corporation seal to the grants of land, and this was now held up as an omission, by which all former titles were made invalid. Nevertheless, it was announced that every one who acknowledged the insufficiency of his previous patent might claim a new one.

At the taking of New Amsterdam, contrary to all rights of nations, the English had dishonoured themselves by similar behaviour, and aroused the complaints

of the inhabitants by the demand that new titles of possession should be taken out. But Nichols, a good man, was disposed to moderate the fees for these. In the greedy adventurers however who followed Sir Edmund, the New Englanders saw themselves attacked by an army of harpies, whose lust it was not so easy to appease. The fees to be paid were so enormous, that they were in some places more than a fourth of the value of land; but it was arbitrarily, according to the amount of favour the lessees enjoyed among those in power. In some cases the patents were put up at a sort of auction, and the possessors would have lost if any one had been found who would give more for them. They took care, however, not to call in doubt all the titles of possession at once, or else all the ready money in the land would not have sufficed to pay for them.

All New England was furious at this, and every one who understood anything of law sought to show the validity of his title according to the English laws; but civil or moral laws are of little avail against arbitrary tyranny, which has avarice and cringing for its handmaids. The most of the landowners resolved to buy new patents. Those who did not, had to expect sooner or later a "writ of intrusion," and he who let the matter come before court was almost certain to lose the whole, and then the land they had thus forfeited to the king, was measured out, given away or sold, as lordless land, with the reservation of a quit-rent, and all was lost. It appears the governor wished to impose a quit-rent on all possessions, perhaps in order to wean them from the thought of free property. But, on account of the documents being gone, much in the history of these shameful oppressions must remain in the dark.

The disorder was most scandalous in Maine, especially on the far side of the Kennebeck, where the flaws which had crept in, in the titles of possession, gave the bold officials of Andros an excuse for taking possession of 8 to 10,000 acres of land, and of preventing, under all sorts of frivolous pretexts, the oldest inhabitants from even taking out new patents for their lands, which they claimed for themselves, though in other places these patents were forced upon them. Palmer and West, two of the New York fortune-hunters, ruled here unrestricted, or, to use Randolph's phrase, "as absolute as the grand Turk."

In the civilized parts of the country, where the titles were more confirmed, the creatures of the governor threw their eyes chiefly upon the lands which belonged to the towns, and were used for common pasture, their proceeds being devoted to the use of the schools, or the poor. A fair island in the harbour of Plymouth, called Clarke's Island by the first man who set foot upon it, which was assigned to the poor, was seized by Nathaniel Clarke, an apostate son of this colony, one of the worst of a tyrant's tools. Randolph tried for a part of the common meadow of Boston, still one of the fairest gems of the town. The task of wresting and grasping had become too much for him when he saw himself beaten in this art by the confidant of the governor of New York, and pushed more and more into the back ground. In possession of a lucrative collector's post, and with too much to do, he had farmed his secretaryship to West, who seems at first to have been only his assistant. But when he saw how this enriched him by the immoderate and arbitrarily fixed fees, for all

government acts, his envy awoke, and he bitterly repented his bargain. In his letters to England he ceaselessly complained of his small income, and whilst the New Yorkers outstripped him in shameless exactions, he saw himself hemmed in and thwarted in every possible way by the Massachusetts members of the council, Dudley, Stoughton, and Wharton.

Mason also was again deceived in his hopes. Vaughan's process against him was naturally lost, and hoping, under the protection of Andros' administration, to arrive better at his goal, he hastened to New England. But the greedy harpies the other had brought into the country would by no means yield him the sole possession of these extensive lands. Graham, the advocate-general, denied his right to lease them, which was certainly not mentioned in any of his patents, but only because it was an understood thing that the possession of land which can be sold, can be let. A new suit arose, which Dudley decided in Mason's favour, but a sudden death hindered him from enjoying the results of it.

1687 But it was not the patents only by which the government enriched itself. Under the charter all judicial and government acts had been extremely cheap; but now they outstripped all bounds: the ordinary taxes for a testament came to £2 10s. Widows and orphans had to come from the farthest part of the province to Boston, for, as this was the chief source of the governor's wealth, everything passed through his hands; the subordinates also made money enough by it. In the other colonies commissioners had been appointed for these matters, but only very trifling acts could be completed without coming to Boston to have them confirmed.



The governor's salary had never cost more than £100 ; that for Sir Edmund was at once fixed at £1200 ; the judges were, till now, only salaried during the sittings, and now they had £400, and the others in proportion. Albeit these salaries were not so exorbitant, they were, like the excessive number of the officials, new to the colonists from whose pockets all was to be paid, and, together with the extortions and complete prostration of trade, threatened to make beggars of them. To this was added, in the second year, the war with the Indians in the east, which made double imposts necessary. " It is not for his majesty's interest that you should thrive," they were told : but Andros saw that this could not last, and reported to England that the land was too poor to bear the expenses of the government ; but the king heard this unwillingly, and insisted that he should cover all the expenses with duties and taxes.

The colonists, when they were robbed of the advantages of the charter, had hoped at least not to lose the universal privileges of Englishmen : but even the shadow of civic freedom was gone. The governor's commission ordered that there should always be seven councillors present in Boston, and that, in case of vacancies, he should fill them up at his pleasure ; five of them were to form a quota at a sitting, and he was to do nothing without advising with these his assistants ; but, even in his own council, Andros did not recognize the decision of the majority ; for every one of his proposals, to which three or four of his creatures were always willing to say aye, was forthwith proclaimed as law, however numerous the assembly might be. All town meetings were forbidden, except one in the year to choose select men,

whom he probably retained for the division of the taxes; for the towns he would not acknowledge to be corporations. "There is not such a thing as a town in the whole country!" he said to a committee of the citizens of Lynn, who were defending the rights of purchase of their town. In order to prevent complaints in England, every shipper was ordered to give security that he would take no one with him whose name had not been known a long time previously. The benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act was denied to those in arrest. "Do you believe," they scornfully said, "that an Englishman's privileges will follow you to the end of the earth?"

Taxing without their own assent was unheard-of in the colonies, and most towns refused to pay. "Do you think," asked Andros, contemptuously, "that Joe and Tom are to prescribe to the king how much money he is to have?" A burgher of Taunton, who had written a protest, was thrown into prison, and one in Topsfield was fined £50, for having railed at the despotic *regime*. The select men of Ipswich came to the resolution,—“As the raising of monies, without the consent of the payers, was contrary to the privileges of an English subject, to delay the impost till his majesty had been petitioned for an assembly;” but an example was made of them, to warn the others. “No privilege,” it was said, “remains to you, except not to be sold as slaves!” Imprisonment and fines were the rewards bestowed on all those implicated, by a jury which Andros had tutored.

And yet it was hard to say what vexed the Englishers most,—this contempt of their civic rights, or violation of their religious convictions, or prejudices, as

men think fit to call them. Among the puritans, as in other calvinistic states, marriage had always been regarded as a civil act, and consummated by a magistrate. Randolph had indeed proposed that none should be valid but those confirmed by an episcopal clergyman; but as there was only one in the country, this could not be at once done: but, to make a beginning, every one was compelled to give security, in case a legal obstacle should afterwards be found. There is no doubt that Andros intended, so soon as he had established a church in the country, to declare the want of confirmation, by one of her servants, to be such an obstacle; and would have left them the choice either of being married by an episcopal clergyman, or of forfeiting their securities, and seeing their children regarded as illegitimate in law; but he was not allowed to carry out this malicious plan.\*

Swearing on the Bible was regarded by the puritans as superstitious, and instead thereof they had introduced a simple raising of the hand; but now they saw themselves compelled to take the old oath, as it alone held good in law. The schools, especially the college at Cambridge, were their darling care, their pride; Andros, who regarded them as hot-beds of rebellion and heresy, sought to undermine them. The English government regarded all schools as dangerous as a printing-press to the submission of the colonists, who were to be nothing but workers for the weal of the mother country.

\* Ebeling is wrong in stating the law regarding the invalidity of these marriages was already put in force. Some modern American writers have also committed this mistake.

Andros and Randolph detested none so bitterly as the puritanical clergy, whom they would have annihilated but for dread of their influence. John Higginson, preacher at Salem, who declared "the people of New England possessed their lands by virtue of the great charter which they had received from God," was asked by Andros, "whether he was a subject or a rebel?" Wise, a clergyman of Ipswich, who openly counselled resistance to arbitrary taxation, was treated like a criminal. But the most detested were the Boston preachers, Moody, Willard, and the Mathers, father and son, and especially Increase, the father, who had most influence of any. Randolph was his deadly foe.

1685 He had already sought to injure him, by a letter in his name, which he contrived to place in the hands of Jenkins, the secretary of state, who only asked, contemptuously, "Is that from the star-gazer?"—for Increase Mather was also an astronomer, and had written a work on comets—and there the matter rested. Some time afterwards, when Dr. Mather openly accused him of deception, Randolph complained of him as a slanderer, and when the court decided for the accused, even lodged a second complaint; but mean time some of the men of Boston had resolved to send Dr. Mather to England with a petition to the king; they therefore kept him hidden, and the legal summons could not be served. In the night some of his community brought him disguised on board a ship which was setting sail; and this man, perhaps the most esteemed by his countrymen, had to escape secretly from his country like a thief in the night.

Since his first appearance in this land of his hate,

Randolph had given himself all the trouble conceivable to introduce the episcopal service. It was his ambition to pass for a pious churchman, and he could not, in his report to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, recommend them strongly enough to send over clergymen of the high church to put an end to the puritanical disorder, artfully insinuating that a great part of the inhabitants yearned to escape from the bonds of a false church. The two prelates seem to have dreaded thrusting themselves needlessly into this wasp's nest, and asked how the clergymen were to be supported? Randolph repeatedly proposed the moneys subscribed for the conversion of the Indians, the greater part of which came from the purses of the English dissenters, and dropped such artful hints of the use made of these moneys, that they promised to have the matter looked into. After the assembly was dissolved he grew bolder, and audaciously proposed that each of the three congregational churches should pay 20s. a week for the support of the episcopal preacher. But servile as the spirit of Dudley's rule was, he could not carry this point. Men said, "He who hires the preacher, must pay him." But as, besides Randolph, there were, before the governor came, but few Episcopalians of means in Boston, the rest being rabble, though they grew to several hundreds, and they were such as dreaded the discipline of the native church; Dudley would not hear of it, and a room in the town house or exchange were all he could get.

The matter became more serious when Andros and his companions came. To his instructions belonged *patronage* of the episcopal church, though they wished,

at first, to leave the colonists freedom of conscience, and hence he could not drive them out of their churches as he had doubtless done ; for he looked on their preachers as mere laymen. At first this was dreaded, but James's announcement of complete freedom of conscience soothing them ; only a few were keen-sighted enough to see that this referred to the catholics. The joy which this manifesto caused, shows how men felt themselves oppressed. They resolved to send an address of thanks to the king, but some of the wiser prevented it, and, instead, a thanksgiving was to be held in the churches. But the governor, who either held the fixing of festivals to be a royal prerogative, or was displeased with the manifesto, the tendency of which he did not understand, told them, "they might meet at their own peril, for they would find the church doors beset by his soldiers." Thus the colonists were spared two steps which would have been unworthy of them, considering the ill-treatment they had met with from the king.

The day of his arrival Andros demanded the use of a church to hold episcopal service for himself. The elders deliberated, and answered—"That they could not with a good conscience give up one of their churches for general service." The proposal was certainly repeated with as little result ; for three months after, the governor, after looking at the three churches, had the keys of one brought by Randolph and took possession of it, albeit at a time when the congregationalists did not perform divine service. In vain the elders declared that the churches were private property and built at their own cost ; the governor declared, in case of further resistance, he would have all their church doors closed, and a punish-

ment set upon keeping their preachers. The strong vanquished.

The greater part of this generation had never seen episcopal service. A high church clergyman had never been in the land, except the chaplain who accompanied the commissioners, till Randolph's favourite, Radcliff, a commonplace person, came over. The behaviour of Andros and his companions certainly was not in favour of their religion, and the exasperation grew stronger. The people spoke of "Baal's priests;" and some preachers indulged from the pulpit in the ancient mockery of the puritans on the high church. An annoying scene took place by the grave of a man called Lilly, who had left the arrangement of his interment to his executors. A deacon of the congregational church interrupted the funeral service, which Randolph was reading, and claimed the dead for his church. He had to pay in hard cash for his bigotted zeal.

The refusal of their churches has been considered as a mark of the intolerance of the puritans by their enemies, as well as by modern writers. But nothing can be a more crooked view of the matter than this judgment. The time of their unbounded hate for every other form of religion was past. In 1679 they had allowed the baptists to build a modest meeting house, and since 1686 the episcopalians had held service undisturbed. But the danger to their own existence from the intrusion of the high church could not for an instant have escaped them; they had fled from her despotism to the wilderness, and now saw themselves followed across the ocean, and it required no profound wisdom to see that she would not rest there. Their churches had been built

out of the savings of their fathers, and their own, and for the express purpose of being able to honour God in brotherly communion free from the invasions of the high church. It would have been wrong, cowardly, and unwise to give way, and we can only regret that they were not firmer, and allowed the tyrannical ruler to put his threat in execution.

With this deep general injury we can only wonder that more active resistance was not met with, especially when we recollect the scenes in New Hampshire, occasioned by much smaller oppressions; if we could not explain this seeming patience by many circumstances.

Firstly, the whole period of this, to use the phrase of an English jurist, *turkish* regime lasted no more than two years. During this time there was, as we shall see, a constant ferment, till, at the first opportunity, the fury of the people broke forth suddenly and irresistibly. The weight was felt most bitterly. "No one," said Increase Mather, "can say any longer that any thing belongs to him." "Our condition," wrote Danforth, "is little removed, without a general assembly, from absolute slavery." Randolph even owned, with the wish to wash himself white,—“I must admit the people have not been well treated in councils and courts; some ill meaning men of New York have been too zealous in oppressing them, and the exact execution of the trade laws has made the country very poor.” Doubtless this contributed to damp the spirit for ready acting. It was a sly satanic counsel which Lovelace, the second English governor of New York, gave to his neighbour Sir Robert Carr, provisory governor of New Jersey —“The best means to keep them quiet, is to lay such taxes that they have no time to think on any thing but raising them.”



Secondly, the colonists during this period were not without hopes of settling the matter by milder means than a revolt. Many towns had already petitioned the king; among others, Hinkly, in the name of Plymouth. Some writings published in London aroused the interest of the English public; and more than one great English jurist had declared — “That even if the colonists had forfeited their charter, they were still Englishmen, and could not lose their rights.” About the time of Sir Edmund’s arrival some active patriots had gone to England, and united their voices to that of their agent Increase Mather. Urgent petitions for the removal of these oppressions were handed into the chamber of trade, and the king himself. The news of their hopes or success, which arrived from time to time, kept the people in anxiety, and in inactivity if not in quiet. Those who saw the matter from near knew how little was to hope from James’s disposition. The committee for the colonies made a report mentioning the assembly of representatives, but the king’s minister struck it out as improper to be laid before him, as he was quite resolved. The agents had to give way more and more, and yield point after point, only to be *heard*. When they at last gained the king’s ear, their representations of the misery of his subjects there, seem, in fact, for the moment to have made some impression, as neither man nor prince is so easily corrupted as to find joy in the misfortune of others when he has no immediate gain in it. He promised relief to the ills, so far as regarded the security of their property, and took some of the necessary steps. The gathering storm and the dangers which soon drew over his own head hindered him from fulfilling his promises.

Chalmers, the only one who has handed down this tardy fruitless feeling of grace, complains bitterly that the historians of the colonies do not mention it, and adds the absurd words—"They showed themselves unworthy of his goodness by proving themselves ungrateful." Ungrateful! Their gratitude must have been like that of the shepherd to the wolf who had not devoured all his lambs!

Finally, and lastly, a new war breaking out in the east with the Indians, put the colonists in a state of anxious fear, enough of itself to check all free movement. Andros, like all the enemies of the puritans, delighted in ascribing to their injustice and oppression all the quarrels with the Indians. Their constant talking and boasting of especial grace in Christ, justified the world in expecting actions in the spirit of Christ. But though their conduct would not bear this touchstone, they still gain when we compare them with other colonies. It was easy enough to preach Christian love from England whither his tomahawk could not reach nor his treacherous arrow fly. Randolph was also a great friend and patron of the Indians, and had sought to gain the favour of William Penn, who had some years ago begun his colony at Skuylkill and Susquehannah, by accusing the New Englanders of severity and injustice towards the unhappy Indians. Andros at first sought to gain the Indians of Pennaquad by neighbourly behaviour. A French adventurer, the Baron of Castine, had settled among them, and, by artifice, marriage of two wives from their race, and other semi-barbarisms, had gained great influence among them.\* This man, embittered by

\* This Baron of Castine is represented by Voltaire and Raynal as a man of extraordinary gifts.

previous quarrels against the English, contrived to stir up the Indians; they attacked the separate plantings in their usual way, plundering, murdering, and making captives of the women and children.

The inhabitants took arms, fortified their houses, and in a spirited attack succeeded in making eighteen to twenty prisoners at Jaco, but reprisals were soon made for this. In Connecticut it threatened to break out again; murders occurred, and in Boston they thought it necessary to make preparations, and began to raise troops. But Andros, at his return, was very much displeased at this, called it not war but murder, and ordered them to stop the preparations. Like Rousseau's philosopher, who loved barbarians in order not to love his neighbour, he ordered the Indian prisoners to be set free without exchanging them for the English, respecting whom he contented himself with issuing a proclamation—"That all prisoners subjects of his majesty recently taken back, and all those implicated in the Indian violences were to be given up," &c.

This step, which only awoke the contempt of the Indians, made the inhabitants of the east parts less safe than ever. Was it any wonder that a conviction arose among the people that the governor had roused up the Indians against them and had hired the Mohawks, among whom he had just arranged a peace with the French, to fight against their own race?

As the Indians in the east continued their hostilities, he saw himself compelled to raise troops. Men were forced into the service, to which, however, the colonists were accustomed, for under the charter they had been coerced thus, as was done

1688  
Nov.

everywhere else in the civilized world Church, the brave volunteer lieutenant, was vainly tempted by the governor with flattering words to enter into his service: he had noble pride enough to refuse. Andros then went to the east at the head of 800 men, but winter had drawn on while he delayed. Thick snow and impassable swamps, checked his steps: no food was to be found: not an enemy was to be seen, for all had fled to the woods. Sickness seized the English troops and slew more than there were Indians up in arms against them, while not one of them was killed. Andros willingly shared all hardships, but he was too much detested to conciliate. Loud murmurs arose, and it was said he wished in this way to destroy the young men capable of bearing arms. He built some forts, left a garrison behind, and the chief power in the hands of his New York favourite Brockholt, (who took this opportunity of grasping whole states,) and returned in the spring to Boston where other scenes awaited him.

1689 William of Orange was landed in England, and James forced to abdicate. The new royal pair were proclaimed on the 16th of February, but the winter rolled away ere, with their state of navigation, the news could traverse the ocean. But in April came a traveller from Virginia, bringing a printed copy of the prince's proclamation, which ran like wildfire through the town. He was arrested, accused of bringing in "a traitorous and punishable satire," and all bail refused. Andros issued an order, that all officials were to hold themselves ready to oppose the landing of any troops sent by the Prince of Orange. To Brockholt he wrote "Tthere is a general whispering here among the people

of the old charter, which they flatter themselves to get again, or they know not what, &c. ;” and then recommended care and preparation—for he was prepared for attack, but only awaited it from without.

This was the 16th of April, and on the 18th the long repressed fury suddenly broke out. A muttered report ran through the town that the governor’s guards were to fall on them in their houses and massacre them. No accusation is too absurd to be believed by the blind many in a moment of excitement. Early in the morning the people drew together, many of them armed, and when the captain of the frigate, which lay in the harbour since the coming of Dudley’s commission, came to shore with the master of the ship, both were seized with wild cries, and taken in custody to a house in the town. Then several of the detested catchpoles were seized, and others hid themselves. The governor, with West, Randolph, Palmer, and several others, were in the fort in the middle of the town. So soon as the governor heard of the tumult, he sent for Jolyffe, an upright man, who enjoyed the highest confidence of the burghers, and the four town preachers. Till now he had despised, but he felt he could no longer do without them, but they all refused to come. The militia, with their officers at their head, assembled at the town-house, among them the gray-headed Bradstreet, the old charter governor, eighty-seven years old; he was greeted with a loud hurrah. They moved towards the fort. Just then the lieutenant of the bark, who declared he would defend them to the last gasp, sent a boat to save the governor and his people; but the boat was seized. 1500 men surrounded the fort which the governor’s guards seemed

little inclined to defend; nay, it was said he struck some of them in his rage.

In the mean time the highest men of the place, among them most of the members of the government dissolved in 1686, had assembled in the town house. They felt that nothing would be more dangerous than to leave the irritated people to their own promptings and resolved for the time, to put themselves at the head of affairs. The first thing to do was to announce this in the most humble tone to Governor Andros, and to beg him urgently to give himself up, with the fort, as, if not, this would be stormed. He only surrendered at the second summons, and was brought, together with his companions, to Usher's house, and afterwards again to the fort, to protect him against the vengeance and satisfy the people, who at once broke into the town, full of fury and uproar, and who wanted to see him in chains and close custody. All were seized who had helped to raise the yoke which had pressed so heavily on the people; they were fifty in number. Dudley, who was holding a court in Narragansetts, was seized by the people and brought to Boston. Most of the prisoners were some days after set free on bail; but the governor, Dudley, Randolph, West, Palmer, Graham, and two others were declared unbailable, and kept in close custody. It seemed improper not to take bail for Dudley, a native, and one of the most opulent landowners, and he was set free from prison so soon as the new authorities were installed. But the people, exasperated against him, raised a disturbance each time, and brought the unfortunate man back to prison. There he had also to suffer from the sullenness of the

keepers, who often gave him no food, refused him fire, and sought mainly to revenge the sufferings of the people on the fallen man.

The nineteenth day after the tumult, the forts and public stores were taken possession of; the sails and cordage were taken from the frigate and brought to land, to hinder her from sailing off. On the twentieth, the tumult was quite stilled, and it was now asked what form of government they should take on, till orders came from England? On the very first an exposition of the state of matters was drawn up in all haste by Cotton Mather's dexterous pen, read aloud from the balcony of the council house, and greeted joyfully by the people. The ghost of popery, from which they saw themselves luckily freed, was there placed in the foreground, and this was enough to secure the unconditional applause of the people. They now gathered signatures from the highest men in the town, to show that they acted with their approval; and after the first fourteen had taken to them six-and-thirty others, they constituted themselves into "a council of safety for the people and of preservation of peace." Bradstreet, one of the fifty, was named president; in four days a complete, quite unprepared revolution of everything was effected without the loss of a drop of blood, simply by a common spirit in the people.

Great anxiety reigned among them, for their fate hung upon the turn things took in England. They knew not, as yet, whether the party of the Prince of Orange had won; whether, if he was proclaimed king, as in the luckiest case, he would admit their self-rule. Ships must certainly have arrived from England before the

the 26th of May, when they heard (at last) that James had abdicated, and that William and Mary were proclaimed; but the passage was then so long, that very likely none of these had left before the 16th of February. The great joy the news awakened in the colony shows best how heavy the burden had been, which so suddenly fell from their shoulders. The proclamation was received with jubilee, and made known with a festive splendour such as the colony had not yet seen. Half the country came to Boston, and the loud expression of joy among the people seemed almost out of tune with the gloomy, puritanical earnestness of the leaders; but the *man* conquered in them this once.

No time had been lost in informing their suffering brethren of Connecticut and Plymouth of what had taken place. In Plymouth the excitement was excessive, and the rage of the people chiefly directed against Nathaniel Clarke, one of Sir Edmund's head counsellors, who, though a burgher of Plymouth, had under James's rule played the tyrant. They did not delay imitating the example of the Massachusetters. He was seized and kept a prisoner, in order that he might give an account; and then they returned to their old constitution, while Connecticut and Rhode Island, without delay, took on their old charters. In New Hampshire, the representatives of the towns, imitating the conventional parliament, met together, and agreed to rule till orders came from England. In New York, Francis Nicholson, the vice-governor appointed by Andros, protested against the conduct of the Bostoners, and prepared to defend his post. But Jacob Leisler stirred up the people, who, less used than those of New England to civic freedom, though they bitterly felt the want of many advantages,



would scarcely have been brought without artful incentives to take violent steps. The vice-governor went to England; but the tragedy with which this ended belongs to the history of New York.

In Boston, the council of safety, so soon as it was formed, sent a circular to all the towns, requiring them to send deputies to a meeting to be held on the 9th of May, when further steps were to be adopted. At the day appointed sixty-six men met, and united first in a declaration that the government of 1686, officials as well as representatives, was valid for the present. After some discussions with the council of safety, they agreed, however, that the authority of this body should be upheld till a new meeting, to which all the towns should send their representatives with full instructions; for the time had been too short, and the deputies were not properly empowered. On the 22nd of the same month; therefore, the representatives of fifty-four towns came to Boston; each town sending two, and Boston four. Forty towns voted for accepting the old charter, and fourteen against it; the latter being supported by the greater part of the council. Two days passed in the most active debates; the charter was the pride of the people, but its defects had often been severely felt. Was it not a serious point to seize their immunities without the assent of the new government? The people were more divided in their opinions than the chambers, and the one topic was talked of both at home and out of doors.

At last, on the third day, the governor, and those who had belonged in 1686 to the authorities, issued a declaration, that, for the safety of the people and the pre-

servation of peace, they agreed to rule the land under the ordinances of the charter till orders came from England as to the form of government ; provided that fitting men were given them as aids, and *that* was established which they had lately done of their joint care : in conclusion, they expressly stated that this was not to be understood as taking on the old charter again. The declaration was accepted. Those who till now had belonged to the council, but not to the old government, retired into private life ; many, deceived in their ambitious hopes and unsatisfied, but most with complete unselfishness, and even soothing, to the best of their powers, their party, which insisted on their continuance in office, and at parting, nobly recommending to the council safety and good treatment for the captives.

In the beginning of the following month, the representatives met, in consequence of a new election, for the form of government established seemed to demand this. It was again seen how much the people loved the charter. The representatives urged upon the council to enter on all the rights and duties of the charter and the government till a counter order should come from England, and declared that without a proviso of this they would do nothing. The counsellors consented ; but so afraid were they of giving offence in England, that they had this threat entered in the minutes as the reason of their compliance. It seemed as if the rude hand which had weighed so heavily upon them had, for the moment, robbed them of the power of breathing freely. It is not improbable that if they had at this time taken their old charter as an understood thing after the downfall of the tyrant's rule, they would, like Rhode Island

and Connecticut, have been left in possession of it. But the right moment for such a bold step was lost by the timid precaution of these very men who, some years ago, had faced much greater dangers. They had certainly lost their game by open resistance, and a new one opened. They wished to show themselves loyal to the king, and thereby to gain his grace. Moreover, however decidedly the voice of the people spoke for the charter, the opponents of it exerted all their influence. Summer and harvest passed by ere a formal authorization from the king, to continue in this way till he could make arrangements conducive to their weal and his, completely quieted them as to the bad results of this step.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE NEW CHARTER.—CONDITION AND POPULATION OF THE  
COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.—FROM 1689 TO 1692.

WITH the same ship which brought the above-mentioned authorization, came also orders to send, as the king's prisoners, Randolph, Dudley, Andrews and the others in custody to England, without delay, where their case would be examined. During the seven months of his imprisonment Sir Edmund had often urged his release; but the general assembly, as we have said, had refused to take bail for him and those regarded as the guiltiest. An attempt made by him to escape had failed. His servant had made the sentinels drunk, and offered to mount guard instead of them; Sir Edmund fled by ship from Veste Castle, where he was confined, to Rhode Island, but was seized and brought back to the fort. At last his complaints, and those of Dudley, reached the king's ear. The order came at the close of November, but a fitting opportunity was not found before February; thus  
1690 the oppressors of the land had already the penalty of nine months' imprisonment for their misconduct.

The cause of this long delay in examining the affair in the colony seems to have been the difficulty of finding evidence against them in the papers of the administra-

tion to support their accusations. In the days of the revolution they fruitlessly sought to lay hold of Andros's papers; none could be found, and it was supposed he had destroyed them.\* It was doubtful how far he had gone beyond his instructions; his commissions did not justify him in the shameless infractions of the right of possession which he committed, but it was more certain that the exercise of his commission was itself against him. The colonists seem to have relied solely on this, when they drew up and sent to England a list of complaints against him. It seems, moreover, that Dudley and Andrews were the only ones against whom they appeared as complainants. "As regards the others," wrote Danforth to I. Mather, "let us only be clear of them; as we know nothing good of them, we are just as far from wishing to revenge ourselves on them. May what has happened to them be a warning to others."

The miserable tools of tyranny, who had grown rich during New England's evil days by the poverty of the colonists, all went back free, and we hear no more of them.† But the New Englanders deceived themselves when they thought that he, under whose rule these unjust proceedings had taken place, would be called to a reckoning. Instead of all the colonies uniting to give more weight to the complaint that Sir Edmund had, by

\* A complete examination of the colonial bureau would, doubtless, bring much to light.

† Except Randolph, who had the "face" to wish to return to Massachusetts, where he was so hated, and be replaced in his post of collector. Hutch. ii. 75-6. Instead of this, he was sent to Virginia, where he died in such misery that only one negro followed him to the grave.—*Remarkables, &c.*

arbitrary taxation and unjust extortion, violated their rights as English subjects, Massachusetts only complained, and then weakly, owing to her disunion, and the political advice of her English factor, Sir John Somers. The complaint was never signed by the agents of the colony. At the sitting in which they appeared as plaintiffs against Andros, he and the other accused impeached them as rebels against the lawful authorities. It was too much the interest of a powerful party, to which the president of the state council himself belonged, not to examine the past too closely; and to reveal all in the colonies, would have harmonized little with forgetting bygones in England. After some parleying in this council, in which Sir Edmund's guilt was not mentioned, and the colony excused for having done like England, without any one being able to say who had done it, the president dismissed the agents with the promise to give his majesty a correct report of the matter. The result of this report was, the whole matter was thrown overboard. But how little Sir Edmund had lost in the king's eyes is seen by his sending him some years after as governor to Virginia, which seems to prove that he had not gone beyond his instructions, and that the plundering system of him and his followers had James's approval; it seemed the best way of breaking the defiant spirit of the obstinate puritans. The complaisant tool of tyranny is always welcome, even to those who do not intend to make use of him. In Virginia his administration gave no offence; he was the organ of the crown; arbitrary, despotic government found in him a useful servant; a moderate government, a skilful available master of the laws;

moreover, the power of the government of Virginia was extensive enough to content him. Like Andros, Dudley also found favour with the king, and he was made governor of New York, as it was not desirable to send him back to New England. Some years after, he was able, as royal governor, to return in triumph to his country.

In England, Increase Mather had, meanwhile, zealously and truly urged the colonial case. We have seen how little he could effect with King James. The revolution awakened new hopes in him; the new administration felt the importance of the colonies, and the agent of Massachusetts was presented to the king soon after he mounted the throne; had repeated opportunities of assuring him of the truth and allegiance of the colonies, and received gracious assurances from the king and the queen. The monarch, indeed, remarked he had heard that "irregularities" had occurred, but seemed willing to accept the assurance of Increase Mather and old Lord Wharton, a great patron of the puritans, "that it would only cost his majesty a word to set them right."

Mather's skill had already succeeded in making for New England an exception to the general order, "that for the present all should remain as usual, and the crown officials retain their posts." By his unwearied activity he gained the interest of influential persons for his country. Many of the first jurists of England had declared against their being mistreated. "If they have forfeited their charter," said Sir George Trely, Advocate-General, "they have still the rights of English subjects, which cannot be taken from them;" and Sir William Jones, one of the most famous lawyers of his day, who

had previously filled this office, roundly told King James, "Your Majesty has as little right to send a commissioner to the colonies to raise money without their consent, as they have to make themselves free of their duties as subjects." The Earl of Monmouth, the Countess of Sutherland, and many great people of influence openly favoured the cause of New England. The appearance at the right moment of two pamphlets, "A Narrative of the Miseries of New England," and "New England Vindicated, &c.," had put the people in their best humour towards them. Another small paper, "The Revolution of New England justified," issued and signed by the council of safety, showed clearly the disgrace they had suffered, and gave the grounds for their actions. All the dissenting preachers, at that time no small power, united in helping Mather; and one of them said plainly to the king, that he could not bind his presbyterian subjects more than by wending his grace to New England. But the best sign was, that in this time, when general toleration was approaching, the heads of the high church did not oppose him. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, promised Mather to tell the lords "that the charter of New England was holier than that of the English corporations, for those were mere acts of favour, while the other was a contract between the king and the first patentees: they promised the king at their own cost to increase his states, if he would allow them and their posterity to enjoy certain privileges. They had fulfilled their part, and it would be an injustice to rob their children of the promised privileges." Nay, Tillotson said plainly to the king, "It would not be well done to take any of their privileges from the



people of New England, which Charles I. had promised them. With such patrons, how could the Massachusetts wish their case in a more hopeful state?

Mather and Sir Henry Ashurst, the legal adviser chosen by the colony, who, like his father, was devotedly attached to and supported the colony in every thing, never doubted they would be fortunate enough to regain the charter with addition of such privileges as would cover its defects, which were visible enough, and which, in part, had wrecked them. Sir Henry was in the parliament; and the member whose mere name awakens the thought of a champion of freedom, Hampden, grandson of the great John Hampden, had freely offered to speak for them. The resolution that the taking away of the charters from the corporations of the towns, universities, &c., *and the colonies*, was illegal and a grievance, went happily through the house of commons; but whilst the bill lay in the house of lords, the parliament was suddenly prorogued, then dissolved, and the king went to Ireland.

Thus their hope of again receiving their old charter was at an end. In the next parliament the Tory influence predominated, and their opponents had time to work against them. It was easy to see that the king had never been inclined to grant them the unrestricted choice of their own rulers, which their charter assured them; and the complaints of Andros and the other imprisoned officials, of their self-willed rebellious conduct, and their behaviour to themselves had come to England. In the east the Indians suddenly rose up again, and men said these constant tumults were the result of the weak rule. Mention was made of sending over a governor, and the state of matters seemed altered all at once.

Well might the agents ask, "When all other corporations have again got their constitution, why not we also? Connecticut, Rhode Island, and several corporations in England had given up their charters when summoned, without waiting for sentence upon them, and therefore after a judicial reversion of this could take them again at once. But corporations were again put in possession of their charters, who had lost them by a legal decision, as *e. g.* the city of London. Why not Massachusetts?" But it appeared that almost all the great jurists of England were opposed to their charter, even those who wished them well. "The faultiness of your charter," they said, "is shown by your foundering with it. It was drawn up for a corporation in the country, and no mention was made of an admiralty, or courts of law of this or that kind. If you will not violate the letter of it, you cannot send representatives, but all free men must be admitted. You can lay an impost on no one who does not belong to the corporation. In short, your charter is, in your present state; full of striking defects, and a new one is all that remains.

Sir George Treby, the advocate-general, said directly to Mather, in presence of the two chief judges and the solicitor-general, who agreed with him, "and if the sentence against your charter was reversed, and the government of your colony began anew to use the same power it did before the *quo warranto*, we should have to issue a new *quo warranto* against you; and you may depend upon it the sentence would be so worded that there could be no talk of a writ of error."

Mather said that all that remained was to accept a

new charter, but here he met with difficulties from his own allies. The people of Massachusetts had been accustomed to regard the charter as their palladium, on the possession of which their welfare depended. With the loss of it, misery without end had broken in upon the land, and to have it again seemed the warrant of brighter times. Indifference to it was looked on as want of patriotism; he alone was a patriot who stood up for their good right to it, and the duty of the English government to give it them again.

Mather's abilities, his zeal and skill, justly gained for him the full confidence of the general assembly; but they as justly feared his ambition and lust of sway, which might lead him to withdraw from a point they most wished to gain. Accordingly, with the released prisoners, two more agents were sent to England, partly to conduct their cause against Andros, 1690 which, as we have seen, they did most unsatisfactorily; partly to assist Dr. Mather in his task of wresting the charter.

They were of the democratic party. The one, Dr. Elija Cooke, a valued physician, filled with a patriot's zeal, one of the most active opponents of the late despotic government and a chief agent in overturning it, took the lead, assisted by Oakes the other agent, like Cooke, an assistant. In the last general assembly, Cooke almost alone of the assistants, but with the majority of the deputies, had voted for the charter. *The old charter or none* was now his cry; an open schism between him and Mather was the result of their different views. In England, little attention was paid to the new assistants. Mather alone was heard and looked to. He, the zealous

preacher, the skilful diplomatist, well looked upon at court, the companion of the great, nay even of the prelates, in what a shadow stood the two stiff republicans, fresh from New England's severe puritanical school of politics! Oakes allowed himself to be persuaded into signing, with Mather and Ashurst, a petition to the king for a new charter: Cooke was firm—the old charter or none! The king ordered the advocate-general, who was on the whole partial to the colonists, to prepare a new charter. He knew that the king wished to reserve for himself the nomination of the governor, and therefore drew up a plan, according to which the governor was chosen by the king, but all the other officials by the people; the governor not having even the right of the veto. When this charter was laid before the council, it was objected “that, in this constitution, the king's governor would be only a governor of clouts;” and an order was issued to form another charter. The task was committed to another jurist, said to be Blaithwait, a friend and correspondent of Randolph, and who under the former government had been secretary of state, and treated the colonists without mercy.

This charter, which we shall afterwards examine more closely, had certainly this advantage over the first,—that it plainly abolished many of those faults; but differed little from the royal, or “commission governments,” introduced into Virginia, New York, and other colonies, and could be altered any minute at the king's pleasure. Not only the governor, but the vice-governor, secretary, and admiralty officers, were to be named by the crown, and all officers and officials of justice by the governor, with the assent of the council. No act of go-

vernment, no choice of an official was to be valid without their assent: no money could be taken from the treasury without his order. These are the principal features; and very much the agents of Massachusetts were displeased at them!

Mather was filled with the greatest vexation when the project was laid before him, and declared that he would rather yield up his life than consent to such a constitution; and now, though the agents had been previously told "that, if they had any objections, they should communicate them to the advocate-general," it was said, "the assent of the agents was not demanded: they were not empowered by a foreign state, and if they would not submit to his majesty's discretion, he would govern the land, and they might take the consequences of it!" What was to be done? Mather and Ashurst continued to make objections, supported themselves on the king's promises, and left no means untried to win, by the intercession of the great, the prize denied to their unacknowledged claims. The council sent the plan, with the objections, to the king at Holland; but William was not the man to grant inconvenient privileges, like Charles, and keep his word so long as it was convenient to him. He approved the plan of the charter, and so it was drawn out.

At the same time with Massachusetts, Plymouth had also felt the most lively desire to 1691  
have her again-won independence confirmed by a charter; but the scandalous extortions of Sir Edmund's officials, had made it impossible for the poor colony to raise the money to cover the expenses of such a deed. In England it had been irrevocably resolved, without

the least regard to their origin, and the undoubted rights of the inhabitants, to incorporate this little colony into one of the greater—Massachusetts or New York.

The inhabitants would only, with the greatest reluctance, have joined the latter—a colony founded in such a totally different spirit, and unsuitable from its position ; but the voice of the people was even against forming a part of Massachusetts, with the loss of their name, of which they were justly proud, and of their independence, the advantages of which were more apparent than real. They therefore commissioned an advocate in England, but, with their poverty, they could count upon no great zeal from him. A clergyman of Plymouth, of the name of Wiswall, in great repute among them, was at Boston when Cooke and Oakes embarked, and, at the advice of some influential men there, he resolved to go, though unaccredited, to London, there to conduct the case of the colony. A governor was about to be sent to New York—an officer bearing the name of Slaughter !—and it was found that Plymouth was in his commission ; not the least regard being paid to the rights and wishes of the inhabitants. Thus, we see, the English government ruled over the colonies, the same when raised by their own private as by other means, as over private property, the conduct of which is confided to this man or that, at the caprice of the possessor.

Mather, by his skill and activity, produced an alteration. The jurist entrusted to plan out the constitution of Massachusetts drew up the charter, and constituted Plymouth a part of this colony ; but Wiswall declared strongly against it, in the hope of remaining independent : the jurist, vexed at this, struck Plymouth out,

and it fell again to New York. The colonists thereupon turned to Ashurst, whose influence, and that of Mather, succeeded in getting Plymouth incorporated with Massachusetts. Some few thanked them for this, but the most hated Mather, and saw in it his avarice and ambition. Wiswall, who had joined with Cooke and Oates, and lived in complete feud with Mather, did his best to cherish the flame. In general, the colonists of Plymouth received the news that their independence was at an end with the greatest vexation ; and a long time passed away ere the elements of the two colonies, which at bottom were one and the same, and only separated from each other artificially, not by any natural tendency, were welded into one another ; but then, after this, no trace remained that they had ever been separated.

Cooke and Wiswall laboured by urgent representations of the defects of the charter, and hints of Mather's ambition, to persuade their respective colonies to a protest against their constitution, so far removed from the original form of government under which they had passed the golden time. But though their wish preponderated, it was not the only prevailing one. Manifold difficulties and mishaps, of which we already know or shall soon meet with, had not broken, but had bent the spirit of the people ; a certain yearning after a lasting well-ordered state of life was general, and, though in many points faulty and undesirable, yet more bearable than the anxiety and doubts of a period which in its uncertain duration permitted no active movements. The new constitution was therefore accepted, not joyfully, but on the whole with a kind of sad submission, and with the wish to make the best of it.

Out of especial regard to Mather, who was regarded as the true organ of the people, he was allowed to name the first governor, vice-governor, and twenty-eight members of the new council. The way in which he used this commission shows sufficiently how little he could free himself from the party spirit which, for twenty years or more, had divided the people of Massachusetts; how little he was raised above the ambitious views his opponents ascribed to him, and how he strove to bring back the old hierarchy, which was based, not on the charter, but on the disposition of the time; for all those were left out of the council who had decidedly opposed him, and insisted on the old charter, as Cooke, Danforth, Oakes, and three others, and even William Brown, who had shown himself too pliant under Andros. The principal points which directed Mather's choice were, that those chosen were men of good understanding, and devoted to the interests of the puritan church. "Among the twenty-eight counsellors," he wrote, "there is not one who is not a friend of the church. With this view he also named Stoughton vice-chancellor, on the express recommendation of his son, Cotton Mather, to whose church he belonged. The people, enraged at the active part he had taken during the administration of Andros, had quite excluded him, at the last election, from the magistrature. He proposed Sir William Phipps as governor, a countryman, born in Pemaquid, who had already won a favourable name in New England. The history of the colonies during the treaty for the charter will make us more acquainted with him.

At the wish of the people, the government of the old charter had been settled in Massachusetts: but they



garded themselves only as a make-shift, and it was this that made them so weak and timid in their arrangements. Some of the discontented, who had either made out well during Andros' government, or saw themselves deceived in their hopes when it was overturned, issued some pamphlets, which, though full of satires on the government, were not noticed. In the bloom of their independence, before the restoration of the kings, the author of those writings would have been found guilty of a capital crime. Some captured pirates were executed in Boston, and government considered itself bound to excuse itself to England for 1690 doing so. Even the operations against the Indians were weakened by this feeling of insufficient authority, and yet energy, at least in outward matters, never seemed more necessary than now.

The war in Maine grew more serious. A chief of the Penobscots, called Madockawando, enjoyed great influence among the Indians. He seemed inclined to peace, came himself to Boston, was kindly treated, and promised freedom for the bordermen carried off, and his powerful co-operation for peace. Baron St. Castine was also written to, and his mediation requested, a safe conduct being offered if he would come to Boston to make arrangements. But in this love of peace the Frenchmen and the Indians saw only weakness, and hastened to take advantage of it. Madockawando was scarcely at home again before the Indians besieged the fort of Pemaquid, and forced the garrison to capitulate, on conditions which, according to the phrase of the colonists, they kept with "Indian faith," by mercilessly slaughtering the captives. On the Piscataqua also, the

apparently friendly<sup>t</sup> natives broke out again, without any cause. But the spirit of vengeance had only slumbered; the Penikuks of Merrimack had upheld a treaty with the Indians of Saco. Major Waldron, one of the patriarchs of New Hampshire, venerable from his age, and his spirited defence of liberty, fell at a late hour, under the hand of the avenging Nemesis; the Indian chiefs, whom he had in the evening hospitably admitted into the fortress in Quoch, opened the doors at night to lurking foes. The brave old man, with twenty others, fell by their hands, while a great number—and among them Waldron's grand-daughter, a remarkably beautiful and clever child—were carried off captives.

The place where the treachery happened had not for twenty years belonged to Massachusetts; but the interest was so great, that the government resolved on sending troops to their aid, and at the same time to expel the Indians from their own borders. But news of new horrors came from Maine. It was clear that the Indians were stirred up, and secretly helping the French in Canada and Acadia. The number of small French buccaneering ships which swarmed about the coast of New England, and mostly belonged to Port Royal, showed clearly enough hostile intentions. The general assembly debated whether more active steps should not be taken, and it was resolved to equip a fleet and attack Quebec and Port Royal. Eight small ships were fitted out, with great labour seven to eight hundred men enlisted, and Sir William Phipps named commander.

This man, one of the youngest of six-and-twenty children of a poor widow at Pemaquid, was a shepherd till his eighteenth year. He then learnt ship-building.

and built himself his own ship, in Boston ; he learned also to read and write, and some other necessary points, became a great merchant, and, by his great luck and honourable benevolence, had made himself favourably known in England as well as at home. During his voyages he had heard of a richly laden Spanish ship, which, fifty years before, had gone down near the harbour of La Plata, in Hispaniola. He drew attention to this in England, and succeeded in 1683 having a royal frigate placed under him to search for this treasure.

The attempt failed, but not his hopes. The Duke of Albemarle and some other noblemen, who in the time of monopoly had succeeded in getting a patent for all wrecks, equipped him anew ; he was more fortunate, and, by his unwearied activity and perseverance, succeeded in raising a boundless treasure from the depths of the sea, which he brought in triumph to England. The honourable moderation with which he only retained a small sum of it for himself, did still more to recommend him in England to the great men in whose service he was, and to the king, whose esteem and goodwill were won by the brave seaman's open, honest, and loyal manner. To show him his special favour, he raised him to the rank of knight.

The ship's captain, Phipps, spirited, undaunted, fearing God, and equally devoted to his fatherland and his king, but of narrow and undeveloped mind—hot, noisy, and always ready, when roused, with blows and insults—was now, thanks to a royal whim, Sir William Phipps. Nor did the king rest content with this ; he asked him what else he could do for him ? Phipps

loved his countrymen : one of his first independent acts was a noble and unselfish one. His ship lay in the Sheepscote river, ready to take in a load of timber, the sale of which would have insured him prosperity ; but he employed the vessel in giving shelter to those expelled by the Indians, and carrying the fugitives to Boston. Here, during his tardily begun education, he had learned to feel the useful influence of her civic institutions and severe church discipline. Accordingly, when James allowed him any wish, he begged "that he might give back lost privileges to New England ;" but the king answered, "Only not that." He now asked for the patent of oversheriff of New England, really, as his biographer Cotton Mather observes, because he thus hoped to do his country most good ; for as he then had to name the jurors by his deputy, he could hope to appoint honest and conscientious men, and to check the unjust and tyrannical behaviour which had crept into New England. This was soon granted him.

But he soon found that he could do nothing with his patent ; despotism and extortion ran unbridled. Phipps, a simple man, naturally thought most favourably of a king who had showed him such favour ; he therefore hastened back to England, and joined Increase Mather, whom the oppressed land had meanwhile sent to show the king its grievances. It was possibly the result of these representations, that James wished to change the hard hand of oppression into a softer, even if the pressure was to remain the same. He offered Phipps the governorship of New England ; but he, his biographer tells us, would not be governor without a legal assembly, and declined the offer. Soon after, the revolution broke out,

and Phipps went home, where he arrived at the very time men were in such excitement from the fortunate changes as well as the sanguinary troubles in the east. Boston was his home; here lived his spouse, a lady of rank and education, who had given him her hand when he had neither name, rank, nor fortune, and whom he had promised to gain for her all three. Here he had joined Cotton Mather's church, had been baptized by him, and lived quite under the moral influence of this vain, ambitious, fanatic, superstitious priest. Uncultivated men, when great good fortune has exaggerated their importance, are always superstitious. Uncultivated, ignorant, and full of dim feelings of inborn piety, he looked up with boundless veneration to the devout, active man of God, redolent of learning, to whom, as well as to his much wiser and more active father, he was a tool sent by God to lead the half-apostate race of New England back to hierarchy.

No man seemed fitter to lead the hostile enterprize of the Massachussetters than Sir William, who had just returned; and next year, at the end of April, the fleet sailed. Port Royal, not prepared for defence, was taken after a slight resistance, and the coasts as far as the New England settlements were taken possession of in the king's name. Those French settlers who would not take the oath of allegiance to England were at once banished; not more than a third, mostly Protestants, remained.

The success of this undertaking, from which the troops returned 30th of May, encouraged them to a new attack. In the mean time the French and Indians had attacked Casco, and destroyed all around. The

danger seemed to grow more urgent, and, feeling the difficulties of the new campaign, they summoned New York and Connecticut to join with them. These colonies were interested in doing so, for the Indians on the northern frontiers, urged on by the French, showed themselves hostile. Shenectady had been destroyed the year before, and the upper river towns of Connecticut were in constant danger of attacks from the savages. The Iroquese, indeed, or, as they are commonly called, the five nations, had shortly before, at a conference in Albany, renewed a treaty of peace with all the English colonies, and were in some measure their allies against the French, in whose settlements, by Montreal, they had in the previous summer committed one of the most fearful massacres which the history of Indian wars tells of. But they would not do anything against their own race, and the English had to content themselves with their neutrality.

1690      The general danger gave occasion to the first congress of the colonies. Here, as ever, Massachusetts was the most active. It was her summons, her letters, that brought all together. Rhode Island was now treated with more regard, and the governor of New York was entreated to summon Maryland and the neighbouring colonies to assist. On the 1st of May the commissioners of the colony met in New York to deliberate together, when it was resolved, that whilst Massachusetts fitted out a fleet and besieged Quebec, a land force of 2,000, consisting of troops of Connecticut and New York, should make their way towards Lake Champlaine and attack Montreal. The last part of the treaty was so incompletely fulfilled, that on it the whole undertaking principally foundered. An army

was indeed arranged and advanced, but, from causes which no later historian has well made out, it drew back without a fight. The contemporay accounts directly contradict each other; Connecticut blamed New York for remissness in sending troops; Leisler, in great vexation, charged Winthrop, general for the former colony, with cowardice and treachery. But, according to the account of the French, doubtless the most correct, sickness had tamed the powers of the English troops, ere they arrived at Lake Champlaine. The small-pox, the curse of the land, had broken out in the army, destroyed 300 men, and driven away the Indian recruits and Iroqueuse allies, full of fear. This broke the spirit of the little army. The French knew from the spies all their movements; and aware that their retreat left Montreal safe, they were able to turn all their forces against those of Massachusetts, who had gone to work with their usual hardihood, but had never more deceived themselves as to their real strength.

One of the chief reasons for attempting the conquest of Canada, was the wish to gain the favour of the new king, and, through that, their immunities. The whole undertaking shows plainly that the spirit of her forefathers had deserted Massachusetts; they had never made war or wished to do so, except in defence. All they demanded was to shield the frontiers, which the charter, their palladium, granted them. They had concluded treaties with the French, Dutch, and Indians, for the sake of safety. Even with Cromwell, when he once aimed at a similar undertaking, they had prepared lazily and with ill will; Charles found a deaf ear when he proposed the conquest of Canada. It was im-

possible to lead the troops over hills and lakes, and through the howling wilderness; then, in the most blooming time of the colony, they could not overcome hindrances, which, now poor and laden with debts, they despised. For now the fathers of Massachusetts wished to please the king, and to this wish sacrificed their principles and their young subjects. A line of strong forts, from the mouth of the Kennebeck to Lake Champlaine, and from there to Mopalok, would have inclosed all the English colonists then laid claim to, secured the north borders against the French and Indians, and have certainly not cost more money and less bloodshed.

How much the old proud spirit was broken, which made them hated but still long spared, we may see in old Danforth, once one of the most defiant of the council, who would not even grant the king's reasonable demand to send agents, and who, as leader of the democrats, was specially hated by Randolph. We now see him begging for help and protection from England:—certainly, as vice-governor of Maine, he best knew the wants of those districts. There was a time when Massachusetts boasted that Charles sent the New Yorkers aid and ammunition, but left her to her own defence. They wished to regard this as a sign that he in some degree acknowledged their independence. “Forgotten by royal power, it was their sole ambition to live in the wilderness undisturbed by other powers for good or evil; to lead a quiet life in a nook of the earth, without offence to God or man.” Had they not made war against Philipp, without the least aid from England? How different now! A ship was sent to England, to beg not only arms and ammunition, but also for a royal frigate to aid them in conquering Canada.



But in England there was then too much to do, so that no heed was paid to their proposal, nor were any arms and powder sent; they gained nothing by their mission, and lost some months in useless waiting. At last, a fleet manned by 2000 men, under the command of Sir William Phipps, sailed from Nantasket for the north. Such a force could only have been raised with the greatest efforts, and the town deputies could scarcely have been brought to vote for this unwise and unpopular movement, but for the fanatic hatred of the colonists to the French as papists. The dread of popery, of the rule of antichrist, was boundless among the colonists. Many examples are given, that captive women and children had been carried away by the Indians and sold to the French in Canada, and kindly and amiably treated by them, but could not avoid the urgent entreaties to enter into the only saving church. They often, rather than be exposed to these temptations, returned to slavery among the Indians and sacrificed the body to save the soul.

In fact, the French conducted the war in Arcadia and Maine with a cruelty towards the English colonists which makes us forget the Christian in them. The Indians were only tools in the hands of the Jesuits, who, with the inconceivable spiritual power which they had over their rude minds, led their movements, sent them out to night attacks and massacres, and, by representations of the injustice done them, stifled the slightest emotions of compassion in the hearts of the barbarians. It is pardonable that this conduct roused the hate of the colonists against a religion which such opponents made a tool of, and in their dilemma they forgot that many of their own clergy

had used Bible arguments for cruelty against the Indians, "the brood of Satan," and even thus defended the execution of Philipp's innocent son.

The fleet, kept back by cross winds, did not arrive at Quebec before the 5th of October, having thus taken ten months for a passage generally made now in an eighth part of the time. The whole plan was laid for a sudden attack. They thought Count Frontenac was busy against the troops of Connecticut and New York; at least, they did not doubt that his forces were divided, and that Quebec had a weak garrison. Instead, Frontenac, by their slow approach, gained time to push on; and being quite safe in the west by the retreat of the English troops, he had drawn all his forces to the east, and had so strengthened the garrison, that it outnumbered his enemies. This caused great alarm. No plan is good which is solely dependent on the success of another, and has no other resources. Added to this, sickness raged in the ships; the small-pox had broken out in Boston shortly before they left, and many warriors had carried the seeds of it with them. No wonder that both officers and soldiers lost their spirit.

The day after his arrival Phipps, as he was there, sent to Frontenac a summons to surrender, the pompous tone of which shows the concealed feeling of weakness. The Frenchman made a short, gruff refusal, called them heretics and rebels against their rightful king. The next day an attempt was made to land, but the elements themselves battled for the French: the wind was contrary, and it was only on the third day that twelve or thirteen hundred men, all who were not ill, could reach the shore. The ships drew up towards the fortress, the

cannon of which played heavily upon them, and some trifling skirmishes were made on shore : on the fourth, hearing from a French deserter the real strength of the garrison, the troops were re-shipped with all speed. A war council was held, and it was resolved to make a new attempt so soon as the soldiers had recovered. But before then a frightful storm arose, which drove some ships from their anchors, and dispersed the whole fleet. So wild and awful was the storm, that one vessel was driven on shore on a waste island in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where the men spent an adventurous winter ; others were sent hundreds of miles, even as far as the West Indies ; while two were totally lost. Phipps and the most of the others came back to Boston about the middle of November, two hundred men having been lost, only thirty of whom had fallen by the enemy.

Boundless were the dread and confusion when this result opened their eyes to the false step they had taken. We do not hear that Sir William was called to account, or that a single voice was raised against him. Four weeks after, he went to England, in order, if possible, to effect another expedition against Canada, not expecting that which awaited him : he returned as governor. His honest, noble disposition, the high esteem for him in England, his love of his fatherland and its liberties, his decided piety and love of the servants of the church as of God's true organs, made Mather choose him. 1691  
The king was satisfied, and confirmed the choice.

Before he left Boston he was witness of the great embarrassment the government was in. It appeared they had reckoned not only on victory, but on as much booty as would pay for good part of the war expenses. Instead

of that, there was now a want of money to pay the troops, who impetuously demanded their pay. The treasury was empty, and some weeks must elapse before the taxes could be got in, during which the cost of the troops would only be augmenting. A revolt was at hand.

This great embarrassment impelled the government for the first time to replace gold by paper, and issue the first notes which had been seen in the colonies; they were of £2 to £10 value, and made a forced currency. At first, on account of the novelty of the thing, the mistrust was great, and the poor soldiers who could not wait had often to lose six or eight shillings in the pound. Sir William at once exchanged a large sum at par for ready money, in order to give them credit. When the taxes came in, the government granted every one who paid in notes five per cent.; so that they rose higher than money, and the result crowned the step with success; it was soon after imitated in the other colonies, and was often found useful.

Meanwhile the horrible scenes were renewed in Maine,  
 1691 till at last a truce with six different races of the Kennebeck Indians gave the unhappy inhabitants peace for the winter. But in summer, when the woods offered shelter for their treacherous deeds, they broke out again, and dread spread through New Hampshire, beyond the frontiers of the original colony of Massachusetts. The news of these mishaps, which reached England, offered new arguments for the enemies of their freedom. The attacks of the Indians were ascribed to revenge for the ill-treatment they had met with from the English. That ill-treatment was a result of the grasping spirit of the

government, and an administration upon another basis, and submitted to the king's superintendence, represented as urgently necessary. We have already seen that these occasioned the refusal of their charter and the issuing of a new constitution.

On the 14th of May, 1692, Increase Mather returned to Boston, and with him Sir W. Phipps, now governor, entrusted with the charter. His arrival happened at the epoch of a strange gloomy fanatic mania, when the colonists, displeased with the present, and deceived in their hopes, thought they were forsaken by heaven and devoted to Satan. We shall revert to this.

He was not without friends in the colony; as governor, not unwelcome to the bulk of the people, and had once been assistant. But of the charter there was but one opinion; they said it gave some too much, some (the majority) too little. A party of noncontents had soon formed, decidedly resolved not to submit to it. The Plymouthers would have belonged to these in a body, had not Slaughter, the governor of New York, directly 1691 after he came, sent them an imperious order, which led them to believe that the thought of uniting them to New York was not quite given up, and hence adhesion to Massachusetts seemed the lesser evil.

The party of the moderates, who thankfully acknowledged the advantages and great privileges granted them, even though it was in many things inferior to the old one, gained ground in Massachusetts. The royal governor was respectfully greeted, and conducted from his dwelling to the town-house by the magistrates, military, clergy, and other high people of Boston and the vicinity. Here the charter was read; and then a commission of

the governor, naming him captain-general of the militia of Connecticut and Rhode Island ; whereupon, the venerable governor of the charter, Broadstreet, the man of the people, fettered to them by sixty-two years of common struggles, sufferings, and joys, renounced his office, " not," Hutchinson says, " without many a deep sigh from the spectators." Then the usual oaths were taken ; and the governor was conducted with the same ceremonies to a public dinner, and then home. The colder and more dissatisfied men were, the more did they seek to observe outward forms, the infraction of which might have given offence to England. These steps clearly emanated from the members of the council, who did not neglect, with the governor at their head, to send letters of thanks to all their patrons in England, and to appoint a solemn thanks to the giver of all good for granting the safe arrival of his excellence\* and his honour, Increase Mather, and a new-arranged government, by which his majesty had shown them favour and grace.

But the hearts of the people remained cold. Sir William, by his benevolent views, gained some popularity ; but ignorant, weak-minded, and uncultivated as he was, completely dependent on the advice of the two Mathers, and withal so indecently passionate and violent, that the unseasonable use of his stick lost him his office in two years, he in vain strove to gain the esteem of his countrymen. He strove to reconcile their injured sense of freedom with his unpopular power of office, called a general assembly soon after his arrival, and did not use the power, which the charter gave him, of

\* Andros was the first governor of Massachusetts who bore this title.

naming the law and other civic officials, contenting himself with confirming those named by the council. During the preparation of a new book of laws, he asserted several times that he had only taken office to promote good laws, and that he was willing, after introducing them, to lay it down again. He was no friend of despotism, even when he exercised it in his passion; the mischief he did then he always sought to make good again, and no one doubted that he really loved his country. He would have been a blameless seaman—an able captain; but it is one thing to conduct a ship of war, and another to head a community which has already tasted the fruits of an independent existence: perhaps the people did not like him because he was not chosen by them. Next year, when the choice of councillors came again to them, many of those named by Mather were left out to make room for those who had been assistants before the bringing of the new charter, and whom that ambitious man had then, from personal motives, driven out. To them belonged Cooke, the man of the people, against whom Phipps, led on by the two Mathers, used his right of rejection. This was only the beginning of an opposition, which lasted as long as the union with England.

To enable the reader himself to appreciate the advantages and disadvantages of the new constitution, we shall take the liberty of briefly comparing it with the old one; though the former really worked at a period which goes beyond our history.

The old charter of the colony only comprised the land between the Merrimack, the Charles River, and three miles on both sides of these streams.

The new charter extended the province of Massachusetts, including Plymouth, southwards as far as the Atlantic; northwards, over Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as far as the St. Lawrence, including Elizabeth Island, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard. New Hampshire, which lay between Massachusetts proper and Maine, and was united to it by origin and disposition, was excluded. The inhabitants had let the right time slip for gaining a union with Massachusetts, which the majority wished for; and whilst the agent of Massachusetts tried for it, they were still. Allen, a merchant, had bought up in London the legal claims of Mason's heirs, and contrived, by money and good words, to procure himself a commission for ruling the land. So soon as this was heard of in New Hampshire, they urgently begged to be united with Massachusetts; but the king, scarcely less jealous than the Stuarts of the colony, was opposed to this. Allen transferred his commission to his son-in-law—the very Usher whom the New Englanders hated and despised as one of Andros' most serviceable tools: he now, amidst continual struggles and quarrels, played the master in New Hampshire for some years, till it was again as arbitrarily incorporated with Massachusetts as it had been separated from it. Its history till then, and even twenty years later, is nothing but a string of quarrels and suits for titles of possession and estates, interrupted by sanguinary contests with the Indians.

The way in which Massachusetts was enlarged shows plainly that no fatherly hand watched over this colony, and that, in the eyes of those in power in England, it was to be nothing more than a means of enriching and ex-



tending the power of the mother country. Plymouth was a wholesome addition, but Maine, always poorly peopled, was now cruelly wasted by war, and almost deserted by the colonists. The land between it and Nova Scotia, now called New Brunswick, then included in the all-comprising name of Arcadia, was uninhabited by whites, except at Fort Pemaquid and the neighbourhood, and by the great rivers the Penobscot, the Machias, and Nowidge-wock lay many Indian villages. Nova Scotia contained some thousand French farmers, who hated the English, and could only be kept down by force. The extension of their government over these regions was rather a burden than a favour. The necessary watching of such extensive frontiers wore out all their powers, which it was doubtless the view of the government to do; there was an end to the peaceful growth of Massachusetts, whose fifty years' tranquillity, under the first charter, had only been interrupted by two short wars, undertaken to defend their firesides. From fighters for their own faith, their civic freedom and undisturbed possession, they had now grown the defenders of the northern frontiers of the British colonies, and had to risk their lives to increase his majesty's states.

Under the old charter the government officials were chosen every year by the general assembly, to which all the freemen shortly before sent in their voices: under the new one the governor, vice-governor, secretary, and all admiralty officials, were named by the king. Under the old charter the power of a governor was little more than that of an assistant; he voted with, and only had the casting voice when the voices were equal: his office was thus little more than an honour, and united with all

outward forms and pomp, so little in unison with republican ideas. The governor of the old charter called the assembly, but the vice-governor, or a quorum of assistants, had the same power in extraordinary cases. He could neither prorogue, postpone, nor dissolve: the assent of the majority was required for that. The governor distributed commissions or full powers, but the persons were chosen by the assembly, and he was only entrusted with the execution.

Under the new charter the governor could, independent of the regular meeting on the last Wednesday in May, call together, prorogue, or dissolve the assembly, which named officers and law officials, but required for this the confirmation of the council. The upper civic officials were named by the two chambers, but the governor's veto could reject them; no money could be taken from the treasury without his order, but here the voice and assent of the council were necessary, and the claim of this latter permitted.

The eighteen assistants of the old charter were changed by the new one into twenty-eight councillors: they were chosen by the assembly and confirmed by the governor, on the first day of election, at the expiration of the year, for which Mather had fixed the council. The question arose,—“What was meant by the assembly? the house of representatives, or the three united branches?” The point was debated by messengers from one house to another. At last the council resolved to yield it, and sent one of its members to announce this to the house; but, as he arrived at the door, he found that the same point was debated on there, and accordingly returned with nothing done; soon after which, a committee brought

the news of the surrender of the deputies. Hutchinson ascribes it to this accident that the council endured so long with so little change, and that even after the hardest struggles between the two houses, the same men were almost always re-chosen; but this was also the case with the old assistants, where some were left out, but the body remained the same, although really more dependent on the humour of the people than the deputies; as the assistants were chosen by all the freemen, but the representatives by the separate towns.

Under the old charter freemen alone were capable of voting, and must be churchmen, or, during the last twenty years at least, provided with a certificate of morality from a puritanical preacher, which altered the matter but little. The new charter gave a vote not only to every freeholder of £20 income, but also to every man of £40 personal property.

The old charter reserved for the king no other rights than the laws of England gave him. Here lay the great difference: the new charter gave the king the right to reject a law which had passed, even three years before, through the three branches.

In any point the new charter was a decided step. According to the old constitution, the court of assistants was at the same time the highest executive power in civic as well as in criminal matters, except in those cases where the laws admitted an appeal to the general assembly. In all cases the legislative, judicial, and police were united in one body. The new charter, which had at least the advantage of belonging to a time advanced some sixty years, separated the judicial from the administrative power. The assembly had to fix the courts, the governor to name the judges.

The new charter said as little as the old of a church constitution, but distinctly assured freedom of conscience to all Christians, which had been silently passed over when the other was granted. The pure English hatred of the papists alike in all times made an exception of them.

The estimates of the population of New England, in the last ten years of the century, neither correspond with each other, nor with the more modern writers, who easily overrate when they are not guided by safe numbers.\* According to the most credible computations, the colonies of New England, *i. e.* Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island contained, at the time of the English revolution, 70,000 to 80,000 whites; more than the half belonging to Massachusetts, with Maine and Plymouth. Connecticut had 17,000 to 20,000; New Hampshire, in little less than ten years, had not reached above 5000; so that 7000 remain to Rhode Island. At this time the number of inhabitants of Boston did not exceed 7000 or 8000, divided into three church communities.† Besides this, the baptists had a house of prayer, and the few episcopalians had, after the days of Andros, succeeded in raising a church called the King's Chapel; but latterly New York had become a rival destined, within a few years, to exceed it, at least in point of population.

\* Sir William Petty gives the population for 1691 at 150,000. Randolph, in 1676, computed that of Massachusetts and New Hampshire as high; and Josselyn speaks, some years previous, of a million.

† *Magnalia*, ch. i., Mather speaks there, in 1700, of many more than 7000. In 1673, the population of Boston was reckoned at 1500 families, or 7000 to 8000 souls. See chap. xxiii.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

DISPOSITION AND SPIRIT OF THE COLONIES OF NEW  
ENGLAND.—CONCLUSION.

THE grant and introduction of the new charter happened at a time of gloomy confusion and countless difficulties. The deepest dejection reigned in all the northern and eastern parts of New England. The exact execution of the navigation act, and the extortions of ruthless officials, had made the land poor. The old unliquidated debt had been increased by the unlucky campaign. Trade was paralyzed, pirates and French buccaneering ships kept the coast watched; few vessels ventured out, and still fewer escaped. On the frontiers, the war with the Indians destroyed the marrow of the land; no open, honourable war, which, though it robs man of social enjoyments, yet calls into play his noblest powers, and raises his view above the commonplace. It was ever a war of attack on the defenceless, a dishonourable murder from the covert, admitting of no defence. It was to be dreaded that France would take revenge for their unskilful attempt. Internal matters were not very cheering; for he who has grown up in complete freedom, feels the slightest checks as wearing fetters. In the interior raged deadly illness, the troops having brought back a camp disease, which soon proved

deadly ; and there was the ever-returning small-pox. But the worst feeling was a certain sickness of the soul, which had seized upon the mass of the people, and aroused among them the whim that for their sins they had been deserted by heaven ; nay, it was said among the people that the devil in person was among them.

Their peculiar state of mind, the richest food for the gloomy religious views of the colonists, is the only thing that can explain the strange paroxysm which seized, like a mania, upon great part of New England, and after satiating itself with twenty human lives, and endless misery and trouble, disappeared as quickly and completely as it had come. The belief in the devilish arts of the witches was at this time quite common among all Christian people. Neither the growth of the sciences nor the light of the reformation had checked the idea of a living and personal interference of the devil. Thomasius and Becker had not yet uplifted their victorious arms in Germany, and doubts of the real existence of witchcraft still passed as godless scepticism ; disbelief of the devil for disbelief in God.

When the puritans left England, superstition flourished vigorously. Life in the wilderness, with its many horrors, was not calculated to cure the wanderers of a disease which was nourished by the peculiar gloomy and deepstamp of their Christianity. The natives passed for adorers of the devil, who must hate those who counteracted his power, and sinful man is of himself inclined, from the first fall, to all that is reckless. Satan watches and is in wait for him, with snares ; flatters, promises, gives and overwhelms the man with worldly luck. Hence the necessary watching, praying, fasting, and

struggling. He who but for a moment withdraws his thoughts from divine things, succumbs to temptation, and is an apostate to the evil one. For years after they came, the first settlers could not lie down at night without hearing the stillness broken by the howl of the hungry wolf, or the cry of the wild cat. In many parts, the idea, even in time of peace, of an attack from the savages, was ever present to their minds. Was it a wonder that the fancy of a colonist was filled with gloomy pictures?—that they whom Providence had so visibly assisted in their wars, over sea and land, should think they saw, in this antidote of grace, the especial influence of the evil enemy; and at last, aroused by some rare appearances, dream that he was in the midst of them?

The progress of time had, with slow and gentle, but irresistible hand, loosened many a bond. The clergy painfully compared the present decayed common weal with the proud, free theocracy of their fathers. The new degenerate race must be led back to spiritual guardianship, under which their forefathers had grown so great and enjoyed the grace of the Lord. The many mishaps of the last sixteen years spoke unmistakeably of his anger. Every pulpit resounded with exhortations to penitence, and prayer and fast-days of the united communities were to appease offended heaven; thus, when the strange gestures of some apparently possessed suddenly startled them, they were quite prepared to see in them the direct influence of the devil, whom the injured God of their forefathers had held back from them.

During forty-five years, the number of unhappy per-

sons who fell in the colonies of New England for witchcraft was at most seven or eight, for which we refer our readers to the twentieth chapter. After the unhappy widow of a counsellor had fallen a victim to the superstition of the people, not a witch had been condemned in Massachusetts, although many occurrences could only be explained as the results of devilry, and many old women, whom need and the burthen of years had made strange, were brought before court. In Hartford, a couple of judicial murders had occurred on the ground of witchcraft; in Springfield and other places it had repeatedly been spoken of, and the whole question of the black art and Satan's attempts on men's souls was kept alive among all classes by oral and written ghost tales, by wonderful cures, and by the unwise cognizance taken by the government and church of every report of the kind.

In 1685, at the time men were so utterly prostrated by the loss of their privileges, and their vision clouded by the dread of impending dangers, they eagerly welcomed a writing which appeared just then from Cotton Mather, in which were collected all the occurrences that could be brought to bear on the infernal powers, showing how many allies the evil enemy had already won in the colonies, and how his spreading rule could only be checked by prayer and fasting. About the same time, great attention was paid to the reports on the bloody witch processes of Suffolk, wherein the great Sir Matthew Hale, the jurist, presided. This work contains, in fact, such similar scenes to those now to be witnessed in the colony, that one can scarcely see how, even if they strengthened men in the *belief in* witches, they



did not put them on their guard against the necessary cheats in the machinery.

Now, soon after, four children of a respectable man, of the name of Goodwyn, began, without 1688 any visible cause, to behave most strangely. One time they lay or twisted themselves in convulsions, fell suddenly into contortions, or seemed, by their struggles and jumpings, to endanger their lives; at another they barked like dogs, mewed like cats, or flew, it was said, like geese, with outstretched arms, twenty yards without even touching the ground. Sometimes they were blind, deaf, or dumb, and sometimes all three at once. Then, with fearful cries, they told how they were cut by knives or burnt by fire, while no one near saw any thing. The eldest daughter, a girl of thirteen, led the way, the others followed. If any thing happened in the house, if any one broke a glass or tore his clothes, they all broke out into a fearful laugh. The least reproof from their parents produced an endless groaning and roaring. The cramps were always most violent when they were to be dressed; it then seemed almost impossible, from their contortions, to manage them. The most wonderful part of it was, that as soon as evening came, all passed off; they laid themselves down wearied out, and slept quietly till morning.

Who does not ask here, is it possible that the cheat of these reckless young creatures was not seen through? On the contrary, the parents sent in the greatest anxiety to the best physician, who, knowing no medicine for such capers, declared they were bewitched. The whole place was in an uproar, for Goodwyn was a member of Cotton Mather's church, and the children, brought up

in the fear of God, and to industry and good behaviour, passed for blameless and clever. The clergy of Boston were called together to pray away the bad spirits; but the children made a demoniac clamour, stopped their ears, and acted more than ever, till they were held still by main force while the heavenly medicine was administered. The youngest, a boy of four or five years, grew tired; perhaps the prayers were too long for him: be that as it may, he suddenly ceased to play the possessed, never attempted his tricks again, and was declared to be cured by the joyful parents and self-satisfied pray-ers, who saw how highly God esteemed them. The others remained as usual.

Now, just before the attack the eldest girl had had a quarrel with a rude, ill-savoured old woman, whose daughter, a washerwoman, she had accused of stealing some missing pieces of linen. The mother, one of the half-savage Irish, who, during the war of devastation in Ireland, had been brought here as slaves, had thereupon broken out with violent reproaches, which, like wishes, take on the form of prophecies and curses, in the half-Oriental Hibernian language. Who could have bewitched the girl but this wretched papist? The neighbours had long suspected her; silly tales, years old, were raked up against her; her dwelling searched, and pictures of the saints and talismans looked at as proofs of her guilt. When examined by an interpreter in a language which she only half understood, she freely confessed all,—admitted that she was a witch—and in wild speeches and gestures avowed her connexion with the evil one. It is not improbable that she even fancied she understood something of the black art, and had the

wish, if not the power, to exercise it. After five or six doctors had attested that she was of sound mind, she was condemned, and her last words were, that her murder would not cure the children.

And it was so. Cotton Mather saw in this a good opportunity for appearing before the public, and took the eldest daughter to his house, not, as one might suppose, to see if there were any deceit, but to gather proofs "against the sadduceism of this degenerate age." He soon laid his proofs before the world, and there was, perhaps, seldom a greater instance of human folly than his report. For weeks the reckless child employed all the weakness of the empty, credulous, bigotted priest, and at last made him believe that, after three days' untiring wrestling with God in prayer, he had banished the evil spirit. There was scarcely one wild trick which she, possessed by the demon, did not play the family; scarcely any wonderful contortion by which she did not frighten them; but the imp did not venture on any pranks with the venerable doctor, the man of God: her uplifted fist glided powerless by him, and when he began one of his endless prayers she in vain stopped her ears; their power vanquished the devil: only force could bring her into his study—but once there, the evil one lost all power over her, and he was heard escaping from her "as if a mouse wererunning away,"—she could read with calmness quaker books, popish writings, philosophical proofs that there are no witches, nay, even the prayer-book—but a look at the Bible, or the writings of Cotton Mather and other puritanical saints, threw her into fits. Well may one ask if the folly of the time could go so far as to suspect no cheat, when it lies so plain before our eyes

that the narrowest view can see it? The unbounded belief which the wildest tales of somnambulism find in our days, must be the answer. Cotton Mather's Circumstantial Report of this visitation of the devil, accredited by all the preachers of Boston and Charleston, was printed in London, and accompanied by a preface from Richard Baxter, one of the most renowned dissenting theologians, in which he maintained that "one must be an obstinate sadducee who did not see the proofs in this writing."\*

1692      The impression of this event was still fresh in  
Feb.      the public mind, when, two years after, some  
         children in the village of Salem, a dismembered  
part of the town of this name, and afterwards called  
Danvers, renewed the horrible farce, and soon made  
the most fearful tragedy of it known in the annals of  
the colonies. The daughter and niece (both children)  
of one Parris, preacher in this place, who, though he  
had had some contests with his community, passed for  
a right-thinking pious man, began suddenly to be  
twitched and pinched by the bad spirits, and to act  
exactly like Goodwyn's children, only that their state  
indicated more torments and pain, and created more  
anxiety. Here, also, a wise doctor declared "they were  
under an evil hand," and the report spread like wild-fire  
that they were bewitched.

But who was the witch? An Indian slave-woman from New Spain, in the service of the family, baked a witch cake to find out. Her own husband betrayed her: the children called out against the black enchan-

\* Goodwyn's children grew up to be respectable members of society at Boston, and no further mention was made of the disorders they committed.

tress, who pinched and plagued them, whose ghost they were always seeing, &c. Poor Tituba, such was her name, in vain averred that she was no witch, though she knew how to find witches; but the clerical man, who knew how to use his stick as well as his tongue, thrashed her till she confessed she was one. Authorities and preachers had already met in his house, and agreed that Satan evidently ruled there. What could more confirm their wisdom than this confession?

In the meantime "the afflicted" had been joined by some other half-grown children, who, even out-heroded them in cries and convulsions. Among them was a somewhat slow girl, Anna Putnam, who, with Abigail Williams, the niece, appeared as chief witness during all the cruel prosecutions. Tituba's husband also, and Tituba herself, had found it the safest way to belong to the professed. In the houses of Parris and some neighbours, they bellowed and shouted the whole day. Prayers and fastings made the matter no better; the whole village was in an uproar, and people came from far and wide to see with their own eyes this devil's work.

Before Tituba had been beaten into confessing, the afflicted, who daily grew in number, had "cried out upon" two old women, poor, old, neglected, half-crazy creatures, seen and known as witches by the vulgar in every age.\* But these victories, so unimportant, were not enough for the evil enemy. The best means of escaping the accusations of the afflicted was to be of their party. The time was come for revealing hidden ills, revenging old grudges, and gratifying hate and envy. Blameless,

\* "To cry out upon a person," was the technical and judicial phrase. Tituba confessed the two old women were her comrades.

esteemed women, pious members of the church, were accused and arrested with notorious hags. It was not the accused but their ghosts, who, night and day, tortured the afflicted and invited them to alliance. The most of them were young girls, though some were men, as *e. g.* Tituba's husband. Success made them bolder. Among the accused was an old clergyman who had formerly preached in the village of Salem, but had quarrelled with his community and left many a foe behind him. The afflicted declared of one woman of the name of Cary, a person of good rank in Charlestown, that they were tortured by her spirit, though not one of them had seen her. She was thrown into chains, but escaped to Rhode Island, and not thinking herself safe even there, went to New York.

In Salem lived a family of the name of English, who, by their wealth, education, and good carriage, had long aroused the hate and envy of their democratic neighbours. One night the officials stood by the bed of the wife to take her into custody for witchcraft, but she refused to rise. The next morning early she assembled her family for daily prayers, imparted to her husband her wishes in respect to the education of her children, arranged her house, and went to the officers with the words—"Now I am ready to die;" but before their examination she and her husband escaped by the aid of two friendly clergymen from prison, and found shelter and a home from governor Fletcher of New York.

Ten weeks had passed away and the prisons of Salem were full, yet not one of the guilty had confessed, though urgently worked upon by blinded judges, with a revolting violation of all forms, and tortured by fanatic clergymen

with threats of hell. At last an old woman, called Deliverance Hobbs, worn out, tortured, perhaps crazy by fear of death, was made to confess. She admitted all they wished admitted, and was pardoned. This confession was followed by others which drew in their train other accusations and more victims. The prisons of Salem were too small for the hundreds accused, and those of Cambridge and Boston had to be taken. The mania grew apace. Among the arrested was a child five or six years old; and among the avowed witches three children, the oldest not above ten years, whose mother had devoted them to the devil. Many children accused their parents: one young man, under the torture, his father,—a wife her husband,—and, in one case, a mother her daughter.

The really infernal power of the afflicted was shudderingly acknowledged. A man in Andover had a sickly wife, whom no doctor could cure; it was asked, was she bewitched? and it was resolved that the afflicted should tell him. In an evil hour he brought two of the possessed girls to the village; but they were scarcely there, than, with insatiate fury and with cramps and hellish gestures, they “cried out upon” not less than fifty persons, mostly women, the greater part of good family and blameless name. Dudley Bradstreet, justice of the peace, and son of the old governor, after having signed arrests against forty, refused to go further; but the furies “cried out upon” him and his wife, and he had to take to flight. The prisoners were taken to Salem.

The first examinations were conducted by the judges in Salem; but when the matter grew more serious, assistants were sent from Boston to hold a court, in which

Danforth presided. Things had now altered. The examinations were not only conducted with the greatest rudeness and with the most arbitrary injustice, but questions put which bore the answer with them, and the explanation of these violated more the Christian and human love than ever the judicial forms. Parris, of whom it could not be decided whether he really thought he was serving God by his "infernal meddling," or following his horrible impulse to hate and revenge, appeared at one and the same time as accuser, examiner, witness, and clerk. The usual plan was, as the court room would not hold all, to bring the accused into the meeting-house and confront them with the afflicted. The latter, mostly children of seventeen or eighteen, broke out into wild cries, fell into convulsions or cramps, so soon as the eye of the accused fell on them, and were healed by touching his hand. At every movement of the poor victims they fell into new distortions. If an old woman pressed her hands together in despair, they cried that the spirit was squeezing them to death; if she leaned against a pillar, the spirit was pressing on them, &c. The minds of the judges and hearers were heated and tortured by the previous descriptions of the devilish meetings to which the spirits of the witches had conducted the afflicted, and where Satan's adorers were wont to celebrate the communion. Clergymen opened the actions with prayers. Was it a wonder that the befooled people believed in the fault of those misled by the devil? that they did not dare to doubt, when their worldly and spiritual leaders regarded every doubt as a sin, and when their own accusation was the almost certain result of doubt?



Till now, it was confined to these examinations and imprisonments. But now Phipps came with the new charter, and it was determined to make short work; a court of oyer and terminer was held. The charter gave the governor the power of naming the judges in the courts of law, but the court was only to be appointed by the assembly. But this time the governor and council took the matter into their own hands without any one protesting against it.

The tribunal consisted of six esteemed men, all previously assistants of judges, with vice-president Stoughton at their head. He had loudly sealed his conviction that the devil had not the power to appear in the shape of a virtuous man; and, therefore, that all those whose spirits tortured the possessed must have fallen to him, as he could take on their form. Accordingly, at the very first sitting, an old woman, who ten years previously had been tried as a witch and acquitted, was condemned to death. She was one of those unhappy creatures whom deformity makes a reproach upon humanity. As she was carried away in chairs past the church, she threw a look upon the building; perhaps in such a moment it appeared to her only erected in mockery of God. "At once," says Cotton Mather, "an invisible demon tore down the pillar of the church." This also passed for a proof of her guilt.

After this first judicial murder, the governor and council, according to custom, asked the clergymen whether they should proceed in this way? Their opinion was drawn up in writing by Cotton Mather. It recommended the greatest foresight to the judges, not to content themselves with "spectrical evidence" (for they did

not share Stoughton's opinion, that the devil could not take on the form of an innocent person), but, in other respects, to go on energetically, according to the law of God and the statutes of the English nation.

The court attended, it appears, exclusively to the latter part of the recommendation, and continued its career of cruel activity with all the energy the clergy demanded. By the beginning of September three sessions had been held, during which twenty-six witches and masters of witches had been condemned to death; eight escaped by confessing they were guilty, and were acquitted. Fifty more unhappy creatures saved themselves by avowing a guilt of which they were quite free, and committed a crime by accusing the innocent. An old man of eighty, who had the year before done penance for a life of sin, and attached himself to the church, refused to answer, and was, according to the English statutes squeezed to death by stones laid on him. Thus, during the thirteen weeks this bloody court held its four horrible sittings, twenty human lives were sacrificed.

Under Stoughton's directions the prosecutions of the unhappy creatures were soon ended. The minutes of the previous examinations were read, and in many cases a "hellish band" of eight women, and one doctor was appointed, who declared any stain upon the skin to be a witch evil. Pin-pricks were sought for, and the head was shaved to find them. If a horny spot was found, which was insensible to a prick, the witch was convicted.

Another test was, if the accused could cry, for a real witch could not shed tears. Fear, horror, age, often

deprived the unhappy of these means of escape. Moreover, a witch could not say the Lord's Prayer without stopping or erring. This was a test in catholic times. But among the puritans the Lord's Prayer had, on account of its abuse by the paternoster of the Roman church, lost much of its holiness, and was seldom heard in the church. No wonder that the old women now and then went wrong. One of them, however, said it quite right, the only fault being, that after the sentence "as we forgive them that trespass against us," she added the touching words, "so I do."

Among those executed were many of blameless name and acknowledged piety. One of the men, a citizen of good repute in Boston, was only accused of witchcraft because he defended his own wife. Another because he would no longer serve the bloody tribunal as officer. The unspotted life of Rebecca Nurse, an old God-fearing woman, out of the middle ranks, was, from her living in Salem, so well known to the jurors, that although the evidence against her was the same as that against the others, they returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." But then the possessed broke out into such an infernal howling, that the alarmed judges declared they were not content. The poor woman, when she heard that some of her acquaintances had borne evidence against her, cried out, shocked, "Why, they were among us!" meaning, that they had been in prison. But this the judges referred to the witch meetings. The jury were made attentive to this, and sent out again, when they returned with a verdict of "Guilty." In vain did the poor woman, who from her deafness had not heard the proceedings, seek humbly to explain the matter; in vain

did the governor wish to pardon her. The possessed fell with new fury on her: she was not be saved.

Before she was taken to her death, Noyes, the fanatic priest of Salem, who urged on the horrible work with a zeal worthy of the great inquisitor, had her brought, loaded with chains, into the church of which she had been for years one of their holiest members, where she was solemnly excommunicated before the assembly, and given to the devil. Mary Easty, one of her sisters, equally worthy, and of superior mind, wrote, shortly before the execution, to the judges, begging not so much for her life as for her conscience. She took leave of husband and children so touchingly and solemnly, that all around shed tears. Even Noyes, full of compassion, said, when she was tied up with seven others, "How sad it is to see those eight fire-brands of hell hang there!"

Among them was the clergyman we have mentioned. He was in years, of the name of Burroughs, and, after being in Salem, became preacher in Maine. He was probably on a visit to these parts, for it does not appear that he would have been fetched so far. The old passions against him awoke, when means were so unexpectedly found to satisfy a long-suspended vengeance. Parris is accused of having had a hand in the matter. Burroughs had often expressed his doubts of the possibility of the black art. Many maidens accused him of torturing them with his spirit; some of the "confessors" gave evidence against him, and avowed that they had seen him at the devil's feasts. Among them were two young men, whom only torture could have forced to

this.\* When some of the afflicted in the court fell a his appearance into new convulsions, so that they had to wait for their evidence, the chief judge asked the accused, "Who do you think hinders them from giving evidence against you?" "Perhaps the devil," answered Burroughs. "Well then," cried the other, with malicious triumph, "why is the devil so much against evidence being given against you?" His silence was considered a confession of conviction. One great proof against him was his extraordinary strength, which in him, a little thin man, could only be explained by the help of the devil. When he became collected, and nobly spoke to the astounded people at the foot of the gallows, and prayed with firm voice and clear words, every one was affected, and there was a movement among the people, as if they would rescue him. But then the possessed cried out that they saw a black man behind him, who prompted him; and Cotton Mather rode about, assuring the people that Satan could appear even in a form of light, and thus roused the many to such fanatic fury, that they threw themselves on the corpse, and mauled it, as if to revenge themselves for being tricked into pity.

All died maintaining their innocence, but not all forgiving. Noyes said to one poor melancholy woman who was carried to death, "You are a witch, and you know it." To which she replied, "You are a liar; and

\* The tortures still in use in Europe were not known in Massachusetts, and there the old laws declared against them; now the tools were wanting, and they accordingly tied the accused together by the neck and heels till blood flowed out of his mouth and nose, in addition to which he was squeezed, pushed, or shaken.

if you take my life, God will make you drink my blood." Some years after, when he suddenly died, the vengeful story ran, that he had been smothered in blood—the curse of the poor woman had come true.

The confessing, whose number was constantly increased by danger of condemnation, were doubtless, in great part, made to confess by promises of pardon, dread, confusion, and threats. Many recanted so soon as they came to their senses. Margaret Jacobs, a poor girl who had accused her grandfather and Burroughs, was seized with remorse, and wrote to the judges, that only their threats and her own corrupt heart had made her do it. "But who can endure the horrors of injured conscience? The night on which I made the horrible confession, I was seized with such shuddering, and dread that the devil would carry me away, that I can no longer bear it." Many were so astounded at their unexpected accusations, especially when they saw that their own relatives gave them up, that in the despair and confusion brought on by their treatment in prison, and before court, they confessed. Six women of Andover, whose friends there gave honourable evidence of their blamelessness, soon recanted. One man, who had given himself up when his wife and daughter betrayed him, lost his life by recanting, though he had made sure of it by confessing. The most fearful fact is, that many who confessed—women of weak understanding and lively imagination—were brought to consider themselves witches. All around maintained they were witches; the afflicted fell into cramps at the look of them, the consciousness of their sin fell heavily upon them—they thought they were lost. One poor young woman, placed with her mother before the court, a half-crazed

“avower,” who in the same breath maintained and recalled a thousand follies, called out, “Oh, mother, mother, what have we done! We have fallen off from Christ, we have given ourselves to the devil; what will become of us!” The confessions, the offspring of wild, half-digested, biblical ideas, drawn out and completed by carefully put questions, were a web of the most senseless folly, where a well-dressed black man, with cats and dogs of the same colour, a red book, on which the souls were sworn to Satan, baptism and communion of the same, and all sorts of tasteless horrors ran wildly through one another. The church meetings of his satanic majesty were clearly described, “exactly organized,” remarks Cotton Mather, with inimitable simplicity, “like the meetings of a congregationalist community.”

The most glaring folly is yet to be told,—even *animals* were declared devoted to hell. Two dogs were hanged, on one of which young Bradstreet had ridden through the air.

The reader asks, perhaps, not without wondering, if these abortions of a fanatic could be really believed by the upper classes, at the close of an age which gave birth to a Christian Wolf, a Spinoza, a Leibnitz. It is certain that, in New England at least, and almost everywhere else, not one in a thousand ventured to assert his disbelief. “He who denies the devil,” they said, “denies God; he who does not believe in his actual appearance on the earth, cannot believe in the Bible!”

But there were clergy, as well as laymen, who decidedly condemned the measures of the court; and even said so aloud, although their small number is a stain on a people grown up to republican freedom: but men had been educated in unconditional reverence for the autho-

rities; and this, and the dread of drawing the storm down on his own head, kept each man frightened and inactive. Among the authorities, Broadstreet and Danforth strongly disapproved of the conduct of the court. Saltonstall, one of the judges of this bloody tribunal, felt himself too weak to swim against the stream, and left his seat, on which a higher sense of duty ought to have kept him. Many judges of the other courts—particularly in Boston—declared their dissatisfaction, and that they would resign their seats if forced to issue warrants on such frivolous charges. The contradictions in the complaints, the incompetence and stupid malice of the witnesses, the noisy, unjust irregularities of the examinations, opened the eyes of many. The frenzy did not spread beyond Salem, except that, at the very last, some few possessed showed themselves in Boston.

Most of the clergy also blamed the summary measures, and began to suspect the cheat. Increase Mather, who at the moment he reckoned upon a recognition of his labours, saw with deep disgust the whole attention of the colony directed to this point, severely reproved a Bostoner, who, for the advice of his family, had sought advice from the afflicted, and asked him, "If there was no God in Boston, that he went to Salem to consult the devil?" Willard, an esteemed preacher in Boston, more enlightened and less narrow-minded than the others, who benevolently baptized *all Christian children*, which the other preachers of the Bay wished to reserve for the elect, was the most urgent in opposing the mania which had seized the people, and had to feel their vengeance. Moody lost his place for having aided the flight of English and his wife, and perhaps some others. The



most zealous partizans in the witch actions were Parris and Noyes in Salem, and Hale, a preacher in Berkeley, a neighbouring village. C. Mather secretly fanned the fire; the other preachers remained quiet, or contented themselves with pulpit speeches and prayers against the influence of the devil: even Higginson, the other preacher in Salem, saw twenty human beings offered up before his eyes, without stirring a finger to save them.

It is clear that, even if the greater part of the clergy did not trust the afflicted, nor approve of the measures of the tribunal, they still wished to enjoy the fruits of the general commotion, and thus rather promoted than checked it. In the conviction that their misfortunes were brought forth by falling-off from the Lord, the clergy had busily striven to bring about one of those revivals, which we have seen managed in our days by similar means. All their preachings of the anger of the Lord, their exhortings to repent, their threats of punishment in this world, were not so fruitful as the horror with which the sinners now saw heaven's avenging scourge strike amidst them. Fear and anxiety had seized on all. It seemed as if there was no safety from the evil enemy but in the church or at devotions. Every evening the young of both sexes met to sing psalms and pray together: God had visibly crushed their stony hearts. Thus the curse seemed turned to a blessing, and the men of God triumphantly confessed that, by skillfully raising the fear of the avenging hand of the Lord, and the encroachments of the devil, they had occasioned these horrible scenes.

Men were seized with the deepest misery; all business was at a stand-still in Salem; whoever could, left the

town. On every face was anguish and fear ; after sunset the greatest stillness reigned in the streets, and when men met, they had news of horror to tell. In this state they looked forward to the general assembly, which was to end these horrors.

Bancroft, filled with the idea of the moral infallibility of the people, has striven to free them from any blame in this frenzy. He directs especial attention to the leaders not being elected by the people as formerly. But was it not these very men whom the people had repeatedly chosen for their judges ? True, the bloody tribunal did not emanate from the general assembly, but this was sitting during a month of the time, without a hand or voice being raised against it. We will rather hope that, for their own honour, all showed this blindness, than that with their clear views they characteristically allowed "those five or six in whose hands the transition state of the government placed for some time unbounded influence" to rule where the life and honour of their countrymen were at stake.

The next meeting in October, to which the first one in June had been prorogued, displayed also its hatred against witches, by formally taking on a statute of James I. against the black art, which accorded with the colonial law, founded on Moses. William did not confirm this law, and the assembly, by virtue of the charter, established a standing high court, by which the former tribunal was abolished. The chief judge and most of the assessors remained, so that there was little change in the mode of examining, and the sentence to be expected.

But the first sitting at this new council did not take

place before next January, which gave them three or four months for collecting and thinking matters over anew. But what did much to damp the zeal of the judges, was the energetic boldness of the accusers, who threatened to get too many for them. From the very beginning there had been a certain favouritism : the mother-in-law of one of the Salem judges had been repeatedly cried out upon, but he had turned a deaf ear, and the woman remained untouched. A man of rank, friendly with the judges, instead of being loaded with chains like the others, was kept a prisoner in his own house, and no examination undertaken against him. The Englishes, Cary and a captain, who also had friends, were not prevented from flying to New York, nor summoned back once : when one of the confessors spoke of " high people," to whom she had spoken in one of their witch meetings,—the hearing was at once broken up. Dudley Bradstreet, the justice of peace, and his brother, who had ridden on the accursed dog through the air, were not pursued. Lady Phipps, moved by compassion, in the absence of her husband issued a release, which saved the life of one poor old woman : whether or not it was this, or her high station, that brought down the scum upon her, it is enough that she was at once cried out upon. Willard had, of all the clergymen, been the most active against these disorders, and the fury repeatedly turned against him ; the dread of the judges was great, but they escaped, by maintaining that another Willard was meant. At last some of the afflicted cried out against the wife of the preacher Hale, one of the most zealous persecutors of the witches ! She was probably " Mather's near relative," subsequently spoken of in the reports of the time.

Besides, Mrs. Hale was loved and honoured, and no one believed the accusation ; the spiteful wretches had, in their fanatic fury, evidently outshot their mark. All at once her fanatic husband's eyes were opened ; he saw cheating and malice where he had previously seen victims of the devil's handicraft. In a writing he exposed and communicated the grounds of his doubts ; men seemed to awake from a dream—the hideous shapes which had sat like night-mares on those mentally asleep dissolved in smoke.

1643 Thus when the court met in January, the spectral evidence was declared quite insufficient. The grand jurors rejected several announcements, and only brought in counts against twenty or thirty witches, who were almost all acquitted ; those not, were set free by the governor. In the next session, a month after, the difference of opinion was more decidedly shown. All whose examination was not yet begun with, were set free by the governor's command, and the prisons of Salem and Charlestown poured out hundreds of worn and pitiable frames. Many of the pious were dissatisfied. "We were on the right way," said Stoughton, "to purify the land thoroughly ; who it is that thus stays the arm of justice I know not. God be merciful to our land !" Then, full of vexation, he quitted the president's seat, which he did not occupy again during the session.

Those blinded came more and more to themselves ; it seemed as if the scales had at once fallen from their eyes, as if they had escaped from a fever mania—as if the sudden admission of daylight had chased away fantastic figures of darkness. Fear and anxiety seemed for a moment to have palsied the mental powers of society ;

during three months of quiet, reason and conviction had gained some ground. The afflicted, when they saw that their hellish arts had lost all power, became imperceptibly well, and were no more plagued by the devil. Accusing ceased, when the judges ceased to punish.

The jurors had, perhaps, the least blame of all in the disorders of the courts, for they had to give a verdict, not according to the view of the matter, but according to the summing-up of the judge. It had been often remarked, that, notwithstanding their many paroxysms, the afflicted seemed in the interims in good health, and strong, and that the martyrs of the devil's handicraft, instead of decaying and wasting away, thrived surprisingly. To tranquillize the jury, Stoughton remarked, that it was not "whether the bodies of the afflicted *really* wasted and were consumed, as stated in the accusation, but really whether the afflicted had to suffer such grievances from the accused as were calculated, in the natural course of things, to make them waste and decay. This alone," he said, "is decay and waste, in the eye of the law." Who can wonder that the jurors, simple, untaught men, trusted the first jurist in the land, the well-read advocate, the judge? Yet they were the first who, tortured by conscience, loudly acknowledged their fault and their repentance, for, perhaps, having, in the weakness of their understandings and the benighting of their senses, drawn down on themselves the sin of much bloodshed; and made this known in a circular signed by all the twelve.

Some years after, followed Sewall, one of the assessors at the bloody tribunal, and long a respected judge of Boston. At the great yearly festival he stood up in

the church, before the assembled community, and handed to the preacher Willard a writing, during the reading of which he stood before the pulpit with bowed head and contrite heart. It was a humble confession of the guilt committed in his blindness, and a request to the community to join with him, and not to punish for these offences his country or his family. The MS. diary of the unhappy man is full of painful expressions of repentance; on the margins of the leaves which record the fearful events, a trembling hand has written, Vae, Vae, Vae! The remembrance of it embittered his life, and, years after, his son sought to atone to those injured in their fortunes, and where the bolt had fallen on the poor, to conciliate their children. But Stoughton heard of Sewall's act with deep disgust, and said, "as regarded himself, he had always had the fear of God before his eyes, and given judgment to the best of his understanding; thus, had he even committed errors, there was no need to acknowledge them openly."

We have seen that Hale was the first of the clergy to take any steps. Noyes was seized much later with the conviction of his error; but he sincerely and openly repented it, and sought to make it good to those who remained. It is uncertain how far he was influenced by the change of public opinion; but this was the only dark period in an otherwise pious life. We picture fanatics as pale and lean, but in this one we have the anomaly of a thick, chubby man, with bright eyes. Half the community revolted against Parris, and he humbled himself in vain. The wolf in sheep's clothing was detected, and, though an error of judgment was pleaded, he had to give up his living.

Cotton Mather had the hardest part. So long as the excitement lasted, he had unweariedly fanned the fire by speeches, sermons, and writings; but when he saw the tide turn, he tried to persuade the public that he had always opposed the measures of the tribunal, and in a new writing craftily published the council of the clergy drawn up by him, admonishing care, but without appending the injunction to prosecute the work of blood. But they were not to be deceived by him, and when, next year, he sought to extricate himself from the difficulty by renewing the farce with *veiled* ghosts, contempt and mockery were his reward, and the renown of being the most learned man in the country, could not save him from the scorn of those who, at least, had a good conscience.\*

Long afterwards, the authorities did all they could to compensate for the mischief occasioned. The general assembly voted compensations in money or land to all who had suffered in the "Afflictions of 1692;" for the property of those executed or fled had been confiscated, or destroyed by the people. The churches solemnly recalled all excommunications of devoted members, and did penance for the errors of the time. But the one just step, of calling the accusers to account, was never taken. Most of them became, in later life, lost and vicious persons, and all led a contemptible and sorry life. Anna Putnam was the only one known to repent. The church archives contain a humble confes-

\* The scenes by the bedside of the afflicted are astoundingly like those in the rooms of modern somnambulists. In both a crafty master spirit, fanatics who cheat themselves, and a gaping crowd who wish to be cheated.

sion, made after struggling for thirteen years with the greatest misery. In this she denies any malicious views, and hopes to find an excuse in the impulses of a diseased mind and self-deception.

The reason of the remissness in calling to account the authors of this tragedy is, that human pride recoils from the complete renunciation of an error which has once held the soul in fetters. For years the conviction of supernatural agency remained, and that deceit had only here and there filled up a void. Others believed that bodily ills had injured the brains of the afflicted, and that they really held those for guilty, whom they accused ; but he who has lived in a later age requires to give but little attention to see through this farce. The judges were smitten as it were with blindness : in many cases the cheat was so plain, that all but they saw it. One of the afflicted cried once, that Sarah, the same melancholy old woman who left her curse to Noyes, was sticking her with a knife. A portion of a knife was found beside her ; and a young man stood up and averred, that it was part of one he had broken and left in the presence of this girl. Will posterity believe it ? The judge only reproved her for lying, and continued to hear her depositions. The silly tales of the confessing were flat contradictions, and the attention of the judges directed to this ; but they answered, the devil had taken away their memories to help his votaries to escape.

But it was cheatery, reckless cheatery, that sowed the seed of this harvest of unholy passions ; perhaps first suggested by the vanity of corrupt children, and the wish to inspire interest and compassion. Goodwyn's children found their prototypes in England, and served as models to



Parris's children. His enemies regarded them as mere tools of his malice, though there are no grounds for such a horrible suspicion. The attention the others drew, easily attracted others to them. Poor, neglected, perhaps oppressed girls, had themselves brought out of obscurity, made an object of interest to the highest people in the land, and even judges over life and death. Some were, perhaps, infected by the sight of the convictions, and thought themselves witches. Others fled to it as the safest way of escaping the accusation. Perhaps not one of this wild degenerate crowd dreamed how far that way would carry them. But it is the curse of ill that it creates ill again; just as the gratification of all unruly desires sharpens instead of stilling the appetite. When once the pure breath of the human soul has been dimmed by the pest-vapour of sin, the poisonous element spreads ever deeper and quicker; just as a ball in falling descends the more rapidly as it makes further progress. If one of the clergy had thus looked at the question, the key to those riddles would not have escaped his view, and their darling doctrines of the complete depravity of the whole human race would have had complete confirmation.

The mania had not lasted quite a year. The most striking peculiarity in it was its rapid spread, after having smouldered so long, and then its sudden extinction, more than the number of victims. In 1646 Mathias Hopkin, the witch-finder, who travelled in company with Calamy and Baxter, is said to have hanged three times as many in a single county. Some years later, eighty-five witches—twenty children among them—were burnt; nor was it more in opposition to the progress of the times, for long after unhappy beings were

sacrificed in Scotland, Switzerland, and catholic Germany. After they had so dearly ransomed themselves, not another witch prosecution ever took place again in New England.

Long after the storm had passed by, the atmosphere was sultry, and hardly allowed men to breathe. Doubts arose as to the literal interpretations of the holy writings, by a clergy who no longer ruled unchecked. In peaceful, if not friendly toleration, baptist, episcopal, and even quaker houses of prayer arose by the side of the puritanical. The common-weal was out of joint; the Massachusetters could not habituate themselves to this, and looked on opposition to royal influence as one and the same with patriotism. The discord in which the old state of things had broken up, still vibrated in the new, till their vigorous descendants removed it by one vigorous grasp at the chords.

Meanwhile the spirit of independence, repressed in Massachusetts, had found a quiet entrance into the other colonies. Connecticut and Rhode Island held fast to every syllable of the charter which the whim of one monarch and the neglect of another left them. New York loudly declared its right to a representative constitution. In Virginia, the idea of conditional dependence took on a more fixed form; and Nicholson, governor of Maryland, was obliged, in his reports to England, to confess "that the views as to the authority of English acts of parliament which, twenty years before, had only been held in New England, were now current in all the colonies; and that they foolishly only held themselves bound by an English law, so long as they were represented in the parliament." So early was

the revolt begun, which took place three quarters of a century later.

Here ends our task. We have told the tale of the settlements in New England, and of the colony of Massachusetts. That of the *Province* of Massachusetts which follows, is of less moment. In the former the ferment was applied, which, after working half a century in quiet, only seen by the close observer, exploded when the vessel was touched by an unskilful hand, and poured forthwith violence till it was dammed back, only to break forth more certainly and forcibly. The time when the second charter was brought over and received by unwilling hands—welcomed by hearts deceived in their hopes, and by men irritated and thwarted by the struggle between a parting and a coming time—may be regarded as the beginning of that gentle, secret movement, which gradually worked out one of the noblest and most elevated problems of humanity.

The history of the people of Europe offers, during the three-fourths of the eighteenth century, a period of decay rather than bloom. The plants which covered the earth had to die, and their roots must perish, to make room for the new, and let them shoot forth with breadth and depth. But in America it was a period of growth and development. He who does not look below the surface knows not what the earth cherishes in her bosom, or what she will by unseen ways bring to light; and few of those who know it, think that one day it will become a wood to shelter old weary Europe.

THE END.







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